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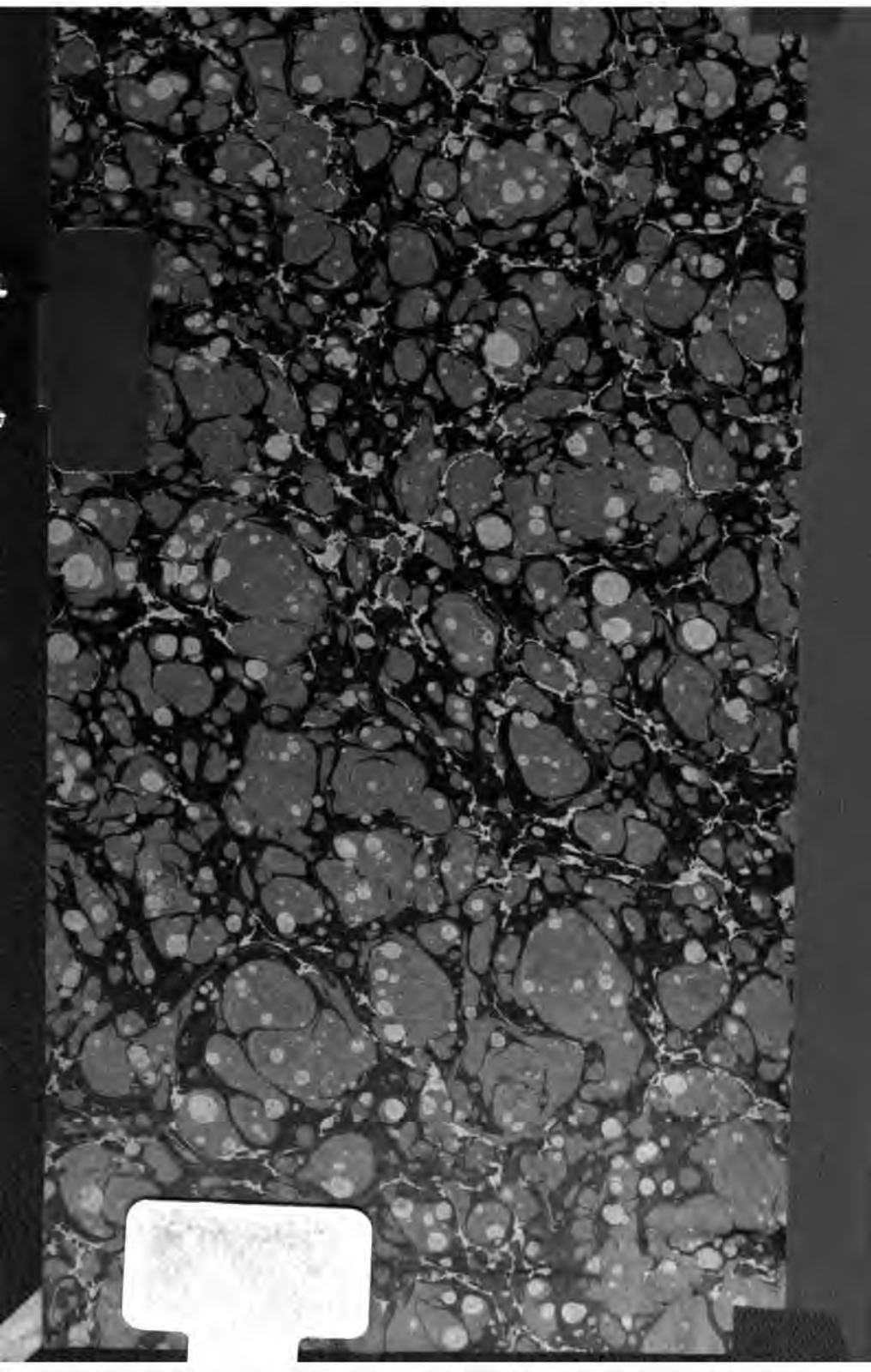
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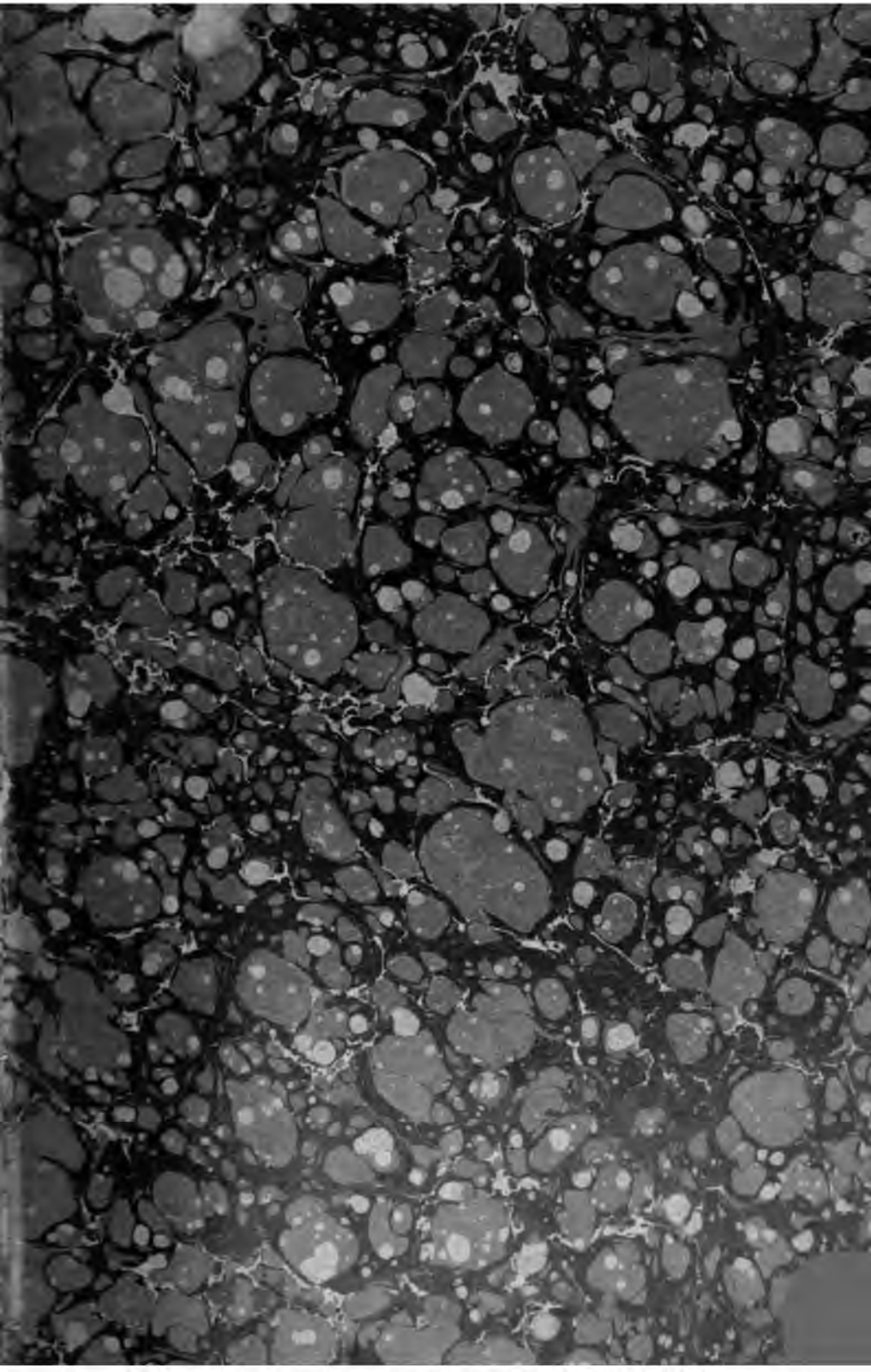
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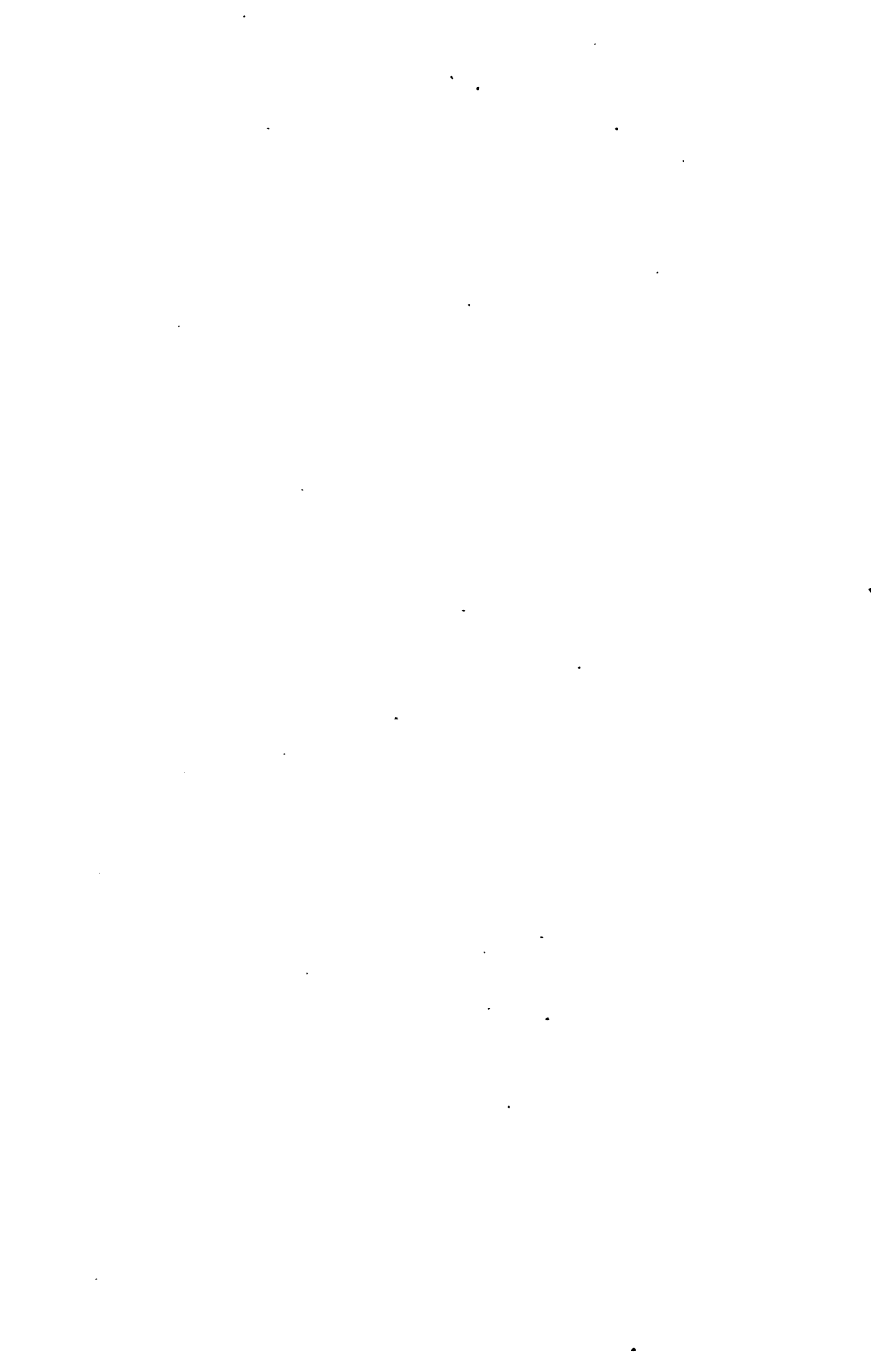
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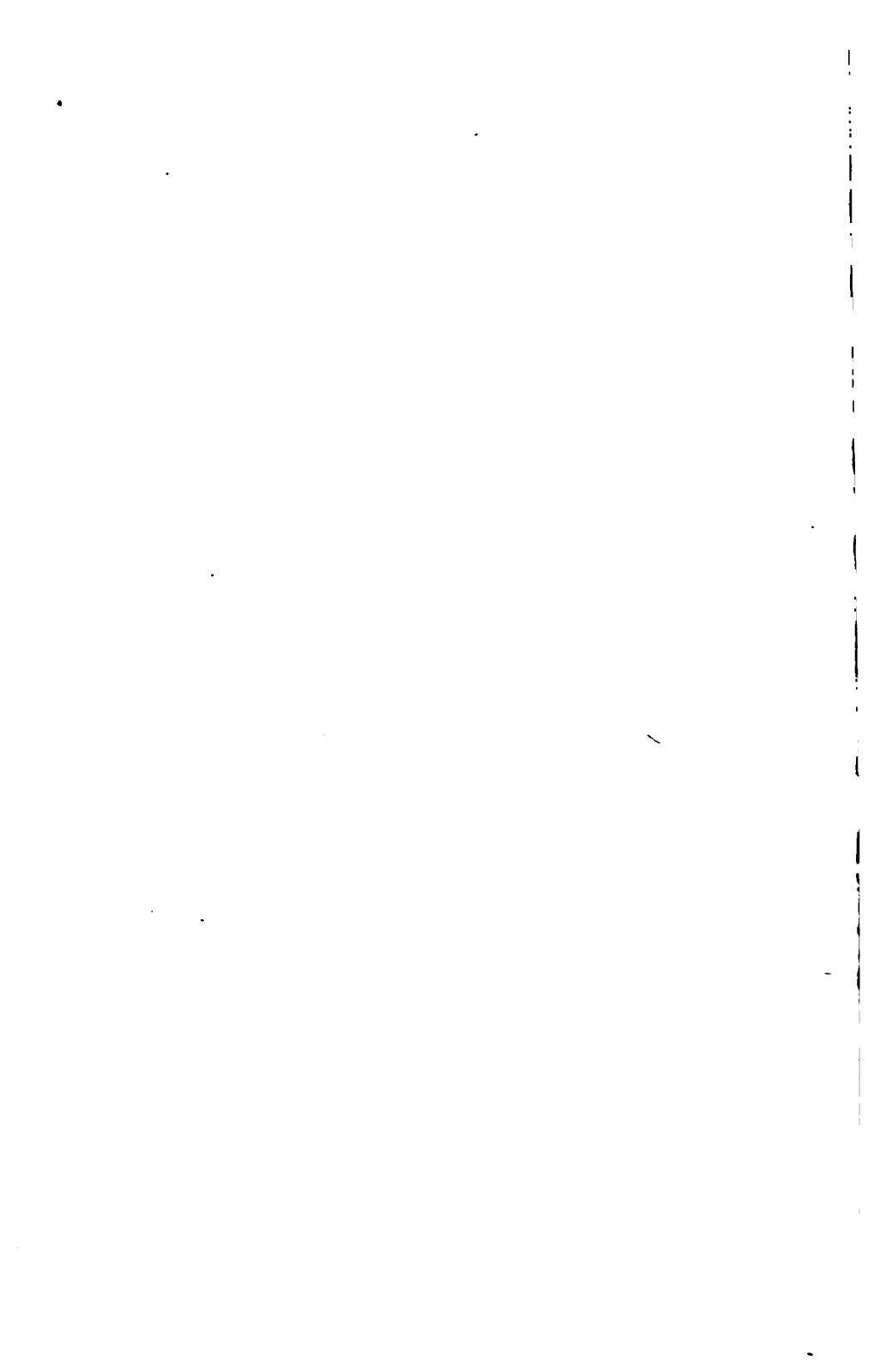
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I. THE MINOR POEMS.

Early English Text Society.

Extra Series. No. LXI.

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Goccleve's Works.

I. THE MINOR POEMS
IN THE PHILLIPPS MS. 8151 (CHELTENHAM)
AND THE DURHAM MS. III. 9.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY.

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TO THE MEMORY OF
Teena Rochfort Smith,
MY MUCH-RESPECTED AND DEEPLY-REGRETTED GIRL-FRIEND,
THE LOVER OF SHAKSPERE AND BROWNING.

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The List of Hocceve's Minor Poems in the Ashburnham MS. 133 is at p. xxvii of the Forewords. Hocceve's only other work is his *Regement of Princes*.

FOREWORDS.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>§ 1. Hoccleve's Life and dated Poems,
p. vii. (The Ashburnham MS,
p. xxvii).</p> <p>§ 2. His Love of Chaucer, p. xxx.</p> | <p>§ 3. His Patrons, Associates and Character, p. xxxiv.</p> <p>§ 4. Comments on some of his Poems, Metre and Language, p. xxxix.</p> <p>§ 5. Text-copying, and Thanks to Helpers, p. xlv.</p> |
|--|--|

HOCCLEVE must have got his name, says Mr. Kirk, from the pleasant village of Hockliffe in Bedfordshire,¹ on the Roman road, Watling St., $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. of Woburn, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ E. of Leighton Buzzard.²

¹ At Mr. Overend's suggestion, Mr. Kirk searcht the Subsidy Rolls. Those for Hoccleve's father's time seem to be lost, but earlier ones mention a Richard de Hoclyve, who may (or may not) have been the poet's grandfather.

Lay Subsidy Roll, Bedford, ††.

†3 Edw. II (July, 1309-10), Roll of a 25th granted to the King.
Hundred of Manshead. Hockelyve. (28 names.)
Of Richard de Hockelyve, 4s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
Of the Master of Hockelyve, 6s. 5d.
Sum of the whole township, 78s.

††.

†8 Edw. II (July, 1314-15), Roll of a 20th and 15th granted to the King.
Township of Hoclyve.
Of the Hospital of Hoclyve, 6s. 6d.
Of Richard de Hoclyve, 5s. 6d.
38 names.
Sum of this township, 4l. 1s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

††.

[10 Edw. II, July, 1316-17], Roll of a 16th granted to the King.
Township of Hoclyve.
Of the Master of the Hospital, 9s.
Of Richard de Hoclyve, 6s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
30 names.
Sum of the township, 4l. 1s. 10d.

††.

6 Edw. III (no month), a 15th and a 10th. "Hoclyve."
Only 15 names. The Master of the Hospital is mentioned, but no surname of Hoclyve. Sum 26s. 6d.

On "Oocleve or Hoccluf," Bedfordshire, Tanner says, *Vet. Mon.*, B 2, back), "Here was an hospital of a master and several brethren, as ancient as King John's Reign. It was dedicated to St. John Baptist." See too Dugdale, VI. ii. 753.

† No month given.

Mr. Stevenson suggests that Hoccleve must have been a West-countryman, as Cleves prevail in the West. We Thames folk know Cleve Lock and Mill

The chief authorities for the life of Hoccleve are his *Male Regle* in the Phillipps MS, his Dialog with the old Beggar in his *Regement of Princes*, his *Complaint* and Dialog with a friend in the Durham MS, and the entries about him in the Privy-Council Proceedings and the Patent and Pells-Issue Rolls.

In his *Dialog* (A.D. 1421-2), p. 125-6 below, Hoccleve speaks of Henry V's victories in France, and of Humfrey, Duke of Gloster, being Lieutenant of the Kingdom (125/533) while Henry was in France. This was from 10 June, 1421, to 31 August, 1422, when the King died at Vincennes. In the same poem Hoccleve says, "Of age am I fifty winter and thre." He must therefore have been born in 1368-9. The date of his englishing of *De Regimine Principum* is 1411-12; and in that poem he says, that he had been then

above Streatley and Goring; and if this Cleve could be added to the Berkshire river Ock which joins the Thames at Abingdon, we should get Occleve. Walker's *Gazetteer*, 1801, gives:—

"Cleeve, Devonsh. near Culliton. Cleeve, Glouc., in Westbury parish. Cleeve, Bishop's, Glouc., 5 miles from Tewkesbury. Cleeve Prior, Worc., 6 miles N.E. of Evesham.

"Cleve, Kent, near Igham, or Ilkham. Cleve, Kent, in the Isle of Thanet. Cleve, Shropsh., S. of Wem. Cleve, Somers., near Bridgewater. Clevedon, Somers., on the sea-side, nearly opposite to the Flatholm. Cleveland, Yorksh., N. Riding, a tract on the borders of Durham. Clevelod, Worc. Cleve, Old, Somersesh., S.W. of Watchet. Cleverton, Wilts., near Malmesbury."

The *Hocks* are well scattered, tho most of the *Ocks* are in the West. The nearest name in sound to Hoccleve, besides the Hockliffe given above, is Hocklough in Northumberland, near Allanton. Walker gives:—

"Hockenhall, Chesh., near Tarvin. Hockerell, Hertfordsh., near Bishop's Stortford. Hockerill, Dorsetsh., near Nottingham and Broadway. Hockerton, Notting., N.E. of Southwell. Hocket, Kent, near Marden. Hockford, Devonsh., in Stockworthy parish. Hockham, Great and Little, Norf., W. of Buckenham. . . . Hockhold, Norfolk. Hockley in the Hole, Bedf., 5 miles N. of Dunstable. Hockley in the Hole, Essex, near S. Fambridge, in a miry road, often overflowed in the winter. It is a long range of houses, chiefly inns. Hockridge, Devonsh., N.W. of Exeter. Hockring, Norfolk, N.E. of E. Dereham. Hockwold, Norf., 3 miles from Brandon. Hockworthy, Devonsh., N. of Stamford Feverel. Hocomb Hill, Middlesex, between Mill Hill and Highwood Hill.

"Ock, a river in Berkshire, which runs into the Thames at Abingdon. Ock, a river in Devonshire, which runs into the Towridge, below Hatherley. . . . Ockbrooks, 5 miles from Derby. Ockenden, N. and S., Essex, S. of Cranham. . . . Ockridge, Gloucestersh., a hamlet to Bisley. Ockerton, Oxfordsh., W. of Banbury. Ockford, Dorsetsh., in Marchwood Vale. Ockford, Child, Superior and Inferior, Dorsetsh., E. of the Stour. Ockford Fitzpaine, Dorsetsh., 3 miles S.E. of Sturminster, Newton. Ockham, Surrey, S.E. of Woking. Ockleston, Chesh., S. of Middlewich. Ockley, Bucks., N.W. of Tame. Ockley, Worcestersh., near Salwarp. Ockley, Great and Little, Northamptonsh., by Rockingham Forest. Ockley-Park-House, Shropsh., near Ludlow. Ockold, Suffolk, S. of Eye. Ocul and Ocul-Pichard, N.E. of Hereford."

§ 1. *Hoccleve's Life. Entered the Privy-Seal Office at 19.* ix

24 years, come Easter, in the Privy-Seal Office.¹ He must have therefore gone into that Office in 1387-8, when he was 19 or 20 years old. Let us say 1387, and then the date fits the first document in which Hoccleve is mentioned in the *Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1386-1400, ed. Nicholas, 1834, vol. i, p. 88 :—

[“Additional MS in Brit. Mus. 4596, Art. 128, a modern tran-

¹ “In the office of the prive-seel I wone ; 802

To write there is my custume and wone
Unto the seel, and have twenty yere
And foure, come Estren, and that is nere.”—Ed. Wright, p. 29.

And again, at p. 37 of the same Roxburghe Club book, and p. xvii below :—

“What man that twenty yere and more
In writyng hath contynued, as haue I,
I doe wele sey it smerteth hym fult sore
In every veyne and place of his body ;
And yen most it greveth truly,
Of ony craft that man kan ymagyne :
Fader, in feith, it spilt hath welny me.”

Sir Harris Nicolas says, in his Preface to vol. vi of *The Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, 1837, p. cxlii—iii :

“the Crown made several attempts to render the Privy Seal, and even the King's Signets of equal authority to the Great Seal.

“The Privy Seal was in the Custody of the Clerk of the Privy Seal, who was sometimes called the Keeper, and afterwards Lord Privy Seal,” who was a Member of the King's Council as early as the reign of Edward the Third, and who was then, if not before, a responsible Minister of the Crown. The Signet, and perhaps the other Small Seals, which will be again alluded to, were always kept by the King's Secretary, or by the King himself.”

The King's Signet was in the custody of his Secretary, as his private letters were sign'd with it. The Clerk of the Signet wrote out such Grants or Letters Patent as past, by Bills sign'd by the King, to the Privy Seal. This Signet-seald copy was a Warrant to the Privy Seal ; and the Privy Seal was a Warrant to the Great Seal : Lord Coke, *Second Institute* 556 ; Nicolas, *ib.* clxxvi—vii. Statutes checking the wrong uses of the Signet and Privy Seal for illegal grants &c. are 13 Ric. II (1389), 8 Hen. IV (1406), and 18 Hen. VI, ch. i.

As to the King's Secretary and the holder of the Privy Seal, Sir H. Nicolas says, *ib.* cxxxii—iv :

“While learning was to be found only in the cloister, the King's Secretary was a Priest ; and a layman never appears to have held that situation until the middle of the reign of King Henry VIII. After a few years' service he was frequently promoted to the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal, and was sometimes rewarded with a Mitre Though the first of the King's Secretaries, of whom the name has been discovered, was a Member of the Council, it was not until towards the middle of Henry the Sixth's reign that they were always Privy Councillors. As the affairs of the Country were then conducted entirely by the King and his Continual or Privy Council, his Secretary, when a Member of the Council, of course shared the responsibility of the other Councillors ; but except in being one of the King's Councillors, he was a mere executive Officer, answerable only to the Sovereign himself”

script. This document is presumed to belong to about the 9th or 10th Ric. II. (22 June, 1385, to 21 June, 1387), as Sir John Clanvowe, who is mentioned therein, was retained to serve in the King's expedition into Scotland in 1385, and is supposed to have died before April 1390.]

"Sensuent les nouns des persones as quaux le Consail estoit accordez que briefs de liberate soient grantez pour les causes desouz expressees, sur les fees et annuitees a eux grantez et confermez

Monsieur Johan Clanvowe	} Par cause quils furent ovesque le
Monsieur Robert Whitteneye	
Monsieur Thomas Bret	
Thomas Hoccleve ¹	} Par cause quils sount clers en l'offise du
Robert Frye	
Johan Hethe	
William Flete	

Roy en Escoce
prive seal.²

Hoccleve meant at first to be a priest³:—"I whilom thought Have ben a preest; now past is the raas." *De Reg.*, p. 52, l. 1147-8. He probably entered the Privy-Seal Office till he could get a benefice

¹ The payment to Hoccleve referred to in the Privy-Council proceedings has not been found in any of the rolls for 1385-7. It may have been of a similar nature to the payment made to the Chancery clerks in 1387, in the Pells Issue Rolls for Easter, 10 Ric. II.:—Payment to divers clerks of the Chancery of the *King's gift*, for their labour in copying Chancery enrolments and sending them to the Exchequer for execution.

The roll for Easter, 10 Ric. II. (A.D. 1387), contains a payment of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to *Guy de Roclyff*, one of the clerks in the office of the Privy Seal, sent by order of the Lords of the Council as messenger to the King, "for certain matters touching the state of the King and the Kingdom."—R. G. Kirk.

² Mr. Kirk cannot find any entries relating to Hoccleve or his fellow-clerks in the Pells Issue Rolls of 1388-90, tho there are others relating to payments for parchment, to Chaucer, &c.:—

1388, Easter, 11 Ric. II. Payment to John Blyth (as below).

1388, Mich., 12 Ric. II. 20 October, Tuesday. To John Blyth, "pergame-narius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "as well for the office of the Privy Seal, as for the Great Exchequer and the Receipt thereof," &c., 10*l.* [This is probably the ". . . . Blith" mentioned in later entries. See Appendix].

1389, Easter, 12 Ric. II. Three payments to Blyth and another, for parchment. Two Chaucer entries.

1389, Mich., 13 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

1390, Easter, 13 Ric. II. Three payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

1390, Mich., 14 Ric. II. Two payments to Blyth. Six Chaucer entries.

John Prophete (see p. xiv below, note 1) is described as "Clerk" only.

Payment to "the Clerks of the Chancery." (See also Easter, 11 Ric. II. They seem to have had occasional "rewards" in the same way as the Clerks in the Privy-Seal office).

³ Miss L. T. Smith says, in *Anglia* v. 15, that it may be concluded he was bred to the law. This was only because he livd in Chester's Inn.

promist him, and then meant to be ordaind and take the endowment. But no benefice came. Instead, after twelve years' office-work, Hoccleve got from Henry IV, on Nov. 12, 1399, (six weeks after his accession), the grant of £10 a year for life, or until the King should promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice, without cure of souls, worth £20 a year, in other words, quarter him on a convent¹ (see Appendix I). The first payment of this Annuity, to Michaelmas 1400, namely £8 15s. 3d., was made to Hoccleve on Dec. 13, 1400 (App. II). The Roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV, 1401, is missing, but no doubt the poet drew his half-yearly £5, as we know he did the payment due at Michaelmas (App. III). Then in 1402 he gets his Easter £5 on April 26 (App. IV a), but out of his Michaelmas money fifteenpence is deducted (App. IV b).

In 1402, Hoccleve wrote his *Letter of Cupid*, printed in some of the black-letter Works of Chaucer, and below, p. 72-91. He based it mainly on Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours*,² the first poem in vol. ii of her Works just issued for 1891, by the Old French Text Society, p. 1-27, in 826 lines, and complained how in Albion, above all lands, men shamd tears and sighs to deceive women, and then forsook them. His date of the month of May for the poem is borrowd from Christine de Pisan: needless to say that he never alludes to her. (See Notes at the end of this volume.)

On Oct. 15, 1403, Hoccleve gets his Annuity only by giving up £1 of it to the King, and taking £9 for ten (App. V). Next half he is probably hard-up, as he draws his half-yearly Easter £5 on March 6, 1404 (App. VI). The Michaelmas-1404 and Easter-1405 Rolls contain no entry of payment to Hoccleve, and he may then have written his appeal to the Lord Chancellor, p. 58 below, for payment of his arrears; but he gets his £5 for Michaelmas 1405 and Easter 1406 (App. VII, VIII). On Aug. 14, 1406, he is paid £3 0s. 8d. for parchment, ink and red-wax that he'd bought of divers folk for work of the Privy-Seal Office (App. IX).

¹ Compare the case of Thomas Purde, one of the Privy-Seal Clerks in Henry VIII's reign, "21 May, 1509. For Thomas Purde. To have a pension which the late created abbot of the Monastery of Hyde is bound to give to a clerk of the King's nomination."—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, i. 12, no. 75.

² Prof. Paul Meyer told me this.

In the last quarter of 1406, our poet wrote *La Male Regle de T. Hoccleue*, p. 25-39 below, in which he begs my namesake "my lord the Fourneval . . . þat now is tresorer" to pay him his Michaelmas £5; he dares not ask for the arrears¹ due to him, p. 38, st. 53. In this poem Hoccleve also confesses his ill-regulated youth, and says that for twenty years past he had eaten and drunk outrageously,²—ever since he 'd been in the Privy-Seal Office, if not before,—had frequented wine-houses, gone after pretty girls at the Paul's Head Tavern,³ treated em to wine and wafers, and kist em, but hadn't "done the deed" (p. 28-30), owing, no doubt, to his cowardice, which he confesses made him keep quiet and out of rows. He was well known to the taverners and cooks at Westminster Gate, paid them whatever they askt, and was cald "a verray gentil-man" (p. 31). After eating and drinking there, instead of going back to the Privy-Seal Office, he 'd take a boat; and the boatmen fought for him because he always paid so well, and they cald him "Master" (or Squire), the name of a gentleman by birth or office, which tickled his vanity.

Hoccleve's appeal of 1406 to "my lord the Fourneval" seems to have produced £5 (App. X). On 12 July, 1407, Hoccleve gets his Easter £5 (App. XI), and on 15 July £3 6s. 8d., part of £7 9s. 10½d. due to him for parchment, ink and red wax (App. XII). But at Michaelmas, no pay is forthcoming, and so, on behalf of himself and his fellow-clerks, Baillay, Hethe⁴ and Offorde, Hoccleve writes to Sub-Treasurer Somer the Balade and Roundel on pages 59-60 below, praying him to get em their pay before Christmas. This pay seems to be for salaries, not annuities. But on 16 Jan., 1408, Hoccleve gets £4 3s. 2½d., the balance of the £7 9s. 10½d. due to him for 16

¹ As Hoccleve's side-note to his past year's dues is "Annus ille fuit restrictionis annuitatum," he probably refers to the Act of 7 Henry IV (A.D. 1405), ch. 16, entitled, "Annuities graunted by the King or his Ancestors of an older date shall be payed before them that were graunted of a later date."—Pulton, 268.

² This stanza (826) is quoted from a scribbled poem on a blank leaf of Register O of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, in the 9th Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 108, col. 1.

³ On its site, with that of Paul's Brewhouse, stood afterwards the St. Paul's Coffee-house, at the corner of the entrance from St. Paul's Churchyard to Doctors' Commons.—Cunningham.

⁴ See Hethe's name, p. x above.

§ 1. *Hoccle's fresh Pension. His "Regement of Princes" 1412.* xiii

month's parchment, ink, and red wax (App. XIII); on 4 Feb., 1408, he is paid his half-yearly annuity of £5, due at Michaelmas, 1407. In 1408 Hoccleve also gets his Easter £5 on July 7 (App. XV), while his Michaelmas £5 is paid on Feb. 13, 1409 (App. XVI). In 1409 he surrenders his Annuity of £10, and on May 17 has a fresh grant of an Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. from Michaelmas, 1408 (App. XVII). Six days after, on May 23, he gets his first half-yearly Easter payment of his increast annuity, £6 13s. 4d. (App. XVIII), and the like sum for Michaelmas, on Nov. 22, 1409 (App. XIX).

A few days before May 1, 1410,¹ if I read the lines aright, Hoccleve writes a chirpy poem to Somer,—then Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer,—from their Temple² Club, "the Court of good Company," p. 64-6 below, reminding him that he was to give em a good dinner on May-day, and had promist them £2 to buy flour or wheat. On June 23, 1410, Hoccleve is paid 22s. 2d. for 14 month's ink, parchment and red wax (App. XX); on the following July 17 he gets his Easter £6 13s. 4d., but no payment is made to him for Michaelmas (App. XXI), till July 8, 1411, when he gets his overdue £6 13s. 4d. (App. XXII). On 26 Feb., 1412, his annuity for the whole year 1411 is paid to him (App. XXIII). The Roll for Easter, 1412, is missing, and no payment to Hoccleve is on the Michaelmas Roll. So it was doubtless in 1412 that he wrote his *Regement of Princes*, or *De Regimine Principum*, to Henry, Prince of Wales, who became King Henry V on 21 March, 1413. On Nov. 5, 1412, Hoccleve is paid 32s. for parchment and ink (App. XXIV), by the hands of John Welde, afterwards his clerk.

La Male Regle of 1406 records Hoccleve's fast life. His larks, of course, required a good income, and he seems at one time to have had

¹ The date is settled in this way. The Club dinner is to be on Thursday, May 1. I ask Prof. Skeat if he can tell me in what year, after 1408, May 1 falls on Thursday; and he answers, "Yes, certainly! The Prayer-book Calendar marks May 1 as *b*. Let this be Thursday. Then *c* = Friday, *d* = Saturday, and *e* = Sunday. So the Sunday-letter is E.

The tables of years for which E is the Sunday-letter include 1410, 1421, 1427, 1432, 1438, 1449, and 1455. You can take your pick: 1410 looks probable.

Yours ever, W. W. SKEAT."

² Probably the Middle Temple, to which Chester's Inn, where Hoccleve livd, belonged. See Note, p. xviii below.

private means—see the extracts below;—but even in 1406 his “rentes annuel” “too scarce been, greet costes to susteene,” 36/361-2 below; the return from his “manuel labour” can be hardly seen or felt; and by 1411-12, he tells us three times over in his *Regement*, that (besides his annuity) his income is but six marks, £4, a year (34/935, 36/974, 44/1217). This £4 must have included both his rents—if he had any left—and his salary from the Privy Seal. The Chief of the Office¹ probably paid his clerks himself, out of his 20s.

¹ In the earlier entries in vol. i. of the *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, the name of “le gardein de notre prive seal” is not given. Those named afterwards—but who may have been appointed earlier,—are, in

1402, April 2. Thomas Langley, Keeper of the Privy Seal.—*ib.* i. 188.

1407, Nov. 16. John Prophete² (i. 300-1, “Maist . . . Prophete, gardein de notre prive [seal]”; ii. 79, “John Prophete, Secretaire du Roys, notre souverain seigneure”; Sec. to the King in Sept. 1402.—*ib.* 78).³

1417, Feb. 15. H. Ware (ii. 204: Feb. 15, 4 Hen. V, “H. Ware, custode privati sigilli.”)

1421, July 1. John Stafford (ii. 287; 1 Hen. VI, vi. 344), and till 1422, Dec. 16 (iii. 8).

1422, Dec. 16. William Alnewyke (iii. 8), and on 16 July, 1424 (vi. 346), and on 14 March, 1426 (vi. 348). Also frequently after he was Bp. of Norwich, as 10 March, 1427, “*Episcopus Norwicensis, custos privati sigilli*” (iii. 255), and in 1429 (iii. 426), &c.

1434. William Lyndewode (iv. 202, “*custos privati sigilli*”) and “*utriusque juris doctor*,” iv. 69. (When secondary in the Privy-Seal Office, he had £40 a year, with clothing, furs and lining: see in v. 150-1 the Petition to the King, June 3, 19 Hen. VI, A.D. 1441, of “your poevere clerc, Adam Moleyns, secondary in y^e office of your prive seal, for such yerly reward and clothing for y^e said office . . . as was paid and delivered to Maister William Lyndewode, late secondary in y^e said office . . . in monnaye to be understande xl. ti. and clothing, furrur and lynnyng as y^e said William Lyndewode receyved.”)

1437. Thomas Beckington (v. 13, 313, “Th. Bekyngton . . . *Custos privati sigilli*”; 335 (A.D. 1439, “Thomas Bekynton, legum doctor, Regis secretarius”); 337 (A.D. 1439, “Bekynton, secretario”); 350 (A.D. 1439, “Thome Bekynton, legum doctoris”), &c.

1441. Adam Moleyns (v. 151, “*Rex mandavit Custodi privati sigilli sui ut acceptaret Adam Moleyns, clericum, tunc consilii sui secundarium officii, custodie privati sigilli, prout et diu Custos fuit antequam in custodia ejusdem privati sigilli sui fuit assumptus, recipiendo . . . xl ti singulis annis,*”) &c.

1444. Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath (vi. 24; Feb. 1, 22 Hen. VI: “Youre humble chapellain, Thomas, bishop of Bath, keeper of youre prive seal” [Adam Moleyns was present at the Council on Jan. 26.—*ibid.*])

1446. Bishop of Winchester (so Index, vi. 408: vi. 51, July 24, Hen. VI: “my Lord of Chichestre, keper of his prive seal”).

1450. Andrew Holes (vi. 93: May 17, 28 Hen. VI: “To our right trusty and welbeloveld clerc, Maister Andrew Holes, keper of oure prive seal”).

For particulars respecting the Privy Seal Office, says Mr. Kirk, see the

¹ He had 20s. a day.

² “Master John Prophete was appointed *Keeper of the Privy Seal* on 4 October, 8 Henry IV., 1406. See Issue Roll for Easter, 8 Hen. IV. Previously he was described as follows:—(1400). Mich. 2 Hen. IV. He is called Dean of Hereford, and had been ‘retained’ as one of the King’s councillors.

(1405). Mich. 7 Hen. IV. John Prophet or Profyt, clerk, the King’s Secretary.”—R. G. Kirk.

§ 1. *Hoccleve's Life. His Marriage. Waste in Youth.* xv

a day, as little as he could: no payment of salary to Hoccleve, or any of the fellow-clerks he names, is on the Issue Rolla. At any rate, whatever money he had, he spent on drinking, stuffing, and girls; and then, as no benefice or corody was given him, he tired of waiting for it, and drifted into marriage:

Harl. 4866, lf. 26, bk.
 I gasyd longë firste, & waytid faste 1451
 After some benefice, and whan non cam,
 By proces I me weddid¹ attë laste.
 And, God it wot, it sorë me agaste 1454
 To byndë me / where I was at my large;
 But done it was: I toke on me þat charge.
 ed. Wright, p. 53, st. 208, l. 1456.

He married for love, not money (*Reg.* 56/1559-61), and after his "skittish youth" (as the old Beggar terms his own gay time, *Reg.* 22/590) settled down into poverty and sad old age: no more treating and kissing the pretty plump girls at the Paul's Head.

Here is the account he gives of his prodigality in youth, p. 156-7:

Harl. 486, lf. 76, bk. st. 623, p. 156, ed. Wright.
 A-mong foliës alle, is non, I leue, 4355
 More þan a² man his gode ful largely
 Despende, in hopë³ men wol hym releue.
 Whan his gode is despendid vtterly,⁴
 The indigent, men settë no thyng by. 4359
 I, Hoccleue, in swich case⁵ am gilty,—þis me
 touchith,—
 So seith pouert, which oon foole large him vouchith.

No folly is
 greater than
 for a man to
 spend largely,
 in hope that
 his donees 'll
 relieve him
 when he's
 poor.
 I did this.

st. 624, p. 157.
 For þogh I neuer were of hy degree, 4362
 Ne had[de] mochil gode, ne gret richesse,
 3it hath þe vice of prodigalite
 Smerted me sore, & done me hevynesse.
 He þat but litil hath, may done exceasse 4366
 In his degree, as wel as may þe riche,
 Thogh hir dispenses werë nat ylyche.⁶ 4368

Tho' I never
 had much,
 yet I was
 prodigal.

Deputy Keeper's Reports, II. 33, 34, 70; the Guide to the Public Records, by S. R. Bird; the Report of the Record Commissioners, 1837, &c. The office of Clerks of the Privy Seal was abolished by Act of 14 and 15 Victoria, c. 82. (See Deputy Keeper's Reports, XIII. 4.)

¹ I weddede me, *Reg.* ² a *Reg.* om. H. ³ hop H, hope *Reg.* ⁴ MS. viterly.
⁵ swich a case H, suchc case *Reg.* ⁶ lyche H, ylyche *Reg.*

	st. 625.	
I opend my purse	So haue I plukkid at my purses ¹ strynges,	4369
till it was empty ;	And made hem often for to ² gape and gane,	
and I shall get nothing unless you, O Prince, give it me.	þat his smal stuf hath take hym to his wynges, And hath I-sworne ³ to be my welthes bane, But if releef a-way my sorwe ⁴ plane ;	4373
	And whens it comè shal, can I nought gesse, Mi lorde, but it procede of your hynesse,	4375
	st. 626.	
I repent my misguided life.	I me repente of my mysrewly ⁵ lyfe :	4376
	Wherfor, in þe wey of savacioñ	
	I hope I be ; my dotage excessyfe	
	Hath put me to swich castigacioñ,	
	þat indigence hath dominacioñ	4380
If I can get help, I shall thrive for the first time.	On me / O, had I help, now wold I pryue ;	
	And so ne did I neuer ⁶ ȝit in my lyue.	4382
	st. 627.	
My annuity	My yeerly guerdon, myn annuite, [ff. 77]	4383
	That was me graunted for my long labour,	
is in arrear ; I can't get paid.	Is al behynde ; I may noght payed be ;	
O, Prince,	Whiche causeth me to lyue[n] in langour.	
	O liberal prince, ensample of honour,	4387
	Vn-to your gracé lyke it to promoote	
relieve me!	Mi poore estat, ⁷ and to my woo beth boote.	4389
	st. 628.	
	And, worpy prince, at Cristes reuerence,	4390
	Herkeneth what I schal seyn, and be ⁸ noght greued,	
	But lat me stande in your beneuolence ;	
	For if myn hertes wil wiste were and preeued,	
I desire your well-being, and your soul's health too.	How you to loue it stired is and meeued,	4394
	Ye shulden knowe / Y your honour and welþe, Triste ⁹ and desire, and eek your soules helpe, &c.	4396

Over his writing or copying work, Hoccleve groans to his old Beggar, *De Reg.*, p. 36-7 :

	Harl. 4866, ff. 18, bk. st. 142.	
Many think copying isn't hard work.	¶ Many men, fadir, wenen þat writyng No trauaile is / þei hold it but a game :—	988

¹ purs H, purses Reg. ² for H, for to Reg. ³ sworne Reg. ⁴ my sorwe away Reg. ⁵ myreuled Reg. ⁶ *Read never as ne'er.* ⁷ Hoccleve's moral for the Prince, on not being paid, is that when he becomes King, he shouldn't (like his Father, understood) grant Annuities unless he's sure he can pay em ; for retraction of payment kindles the hate of subjects. He'd better not grant any pensions at all, than fail to pay em, p. 172, st. 685-7, l. 4789-4809. There's a good bit of advice in l. 4898, p. 175, "No disdeyne have of the poores sentence (opinion)." ⁸ beth Reg. ⁹ Thurstie Reg.

- Aart hath no foo, but swich folk vnkonyng:—
 But who-so list disport hym in þat same,
 Let hym continue, and he shal fynd it grame: 992 Just let 'em
 It is wel gretter labour þan it seemeth; 994 have a good
 þe blyndē man of coloures al¹ wrong deemeth. 994 turn at it!
- st. 143.
- ¶ A writer mot thre thynges to hym knytte, 995 A copier must
 And in tho may be no disseuerance; always
 Mynde / ee² / and hand / non may fro othir flitte,
 But in hem mot be ioynt contynuaunce. work mind,
 The mynd, al hoole with-outen variance, 999 eye, and hand
 On þe ee³ and hand / awaytē mot alway, together.
 And þei two eek on hym; it is no nay. 1001
- st. 144, p. 37.
- ¶ Who-so schal wrytē, may nat holde a tale 1002 He can't talk
 With hym and hym / ne syngē⁴ this ne that; to other folk,
 But alle his wittēs grete and smale or sing,
 Ther must appere, and halden⁵ hem ther-at, but must give
 And syn he speke⁶ may, ne syngē nat, 1006 all his wits to
 But bothē⁷ two he nedēs moot forbere: his work.
 His⁸ labour to hym is the alengere.⁹ 1008
- st. 145.
- ¶ Thise¹⁰ artificers, se I day be day, 1009 Workmen
 In þe hottestte of al her¹¹ bysynesse,
 Talken and syngē,¹² and makē game and play talk, sing,
 And forth hir labour¹³ passith with gladnesse; and lark.
 But we laboure¹³ in traueillous stilnesse; 1013 We labour in
 We stowpe and stare vpon þe shepēs skyn, silence;
 And keepē muste our song and¹⁴ wordēs in. 1015 stoop and
 stare on the
 sheepskin.
- st. 146.
- ¶ Wrytyng also doth grete annoyēs thre. 1016 Our copyng
 Of which ful fewē folkēs¹⁵ taken heede
 Sauē we oure self; and þisē, lo, þei be:
 Stomak is on, whom stowpyng out of dreede
 Annoyeth soore, and to our bakkes neede 1020 hurts our
 Mōt it be greuous; and þe thrid, our yen,¹⁶ stomachs,
 Vp-on the whytē mochel for to dryen. 1022 our backs
 and our eyes.
- st. 147.
- ¶ What man þat þre and twenti¹⁷ yere and more 1023 Any one
 In wryting hath continued, as haue I, who's copied
 for 20 years,

¹ Reg. omits 'al.' ² eye Reg. ³ On eye Reg. ⁴ syngē Reg., syng H.
⁵ holde Reg. ⁶ setthe speke he ne. ⁷ both H, bothe Reg. ⁸ Hir Reg., His H.
⁹ elengeer Reg. ¹⁰ This H. ¹¹ for H. ¹² syngē Reg., syng H. ¹³ laboure H,
labouren Reg. ¹⁴ and our Reg. ¹⁵ om. folkes Reg. ¹⁶ eyen Reg. ¹⁷ MS.
xxiiijth H, twenty Reg.

xviii § 1. *Hoccl's Life. His Dread of Poverty. At Chester's Inn.*

like I have, suffers for it in every bit of his body.	I dar wel sayn it smerteth ¹ hym ful sore In euery ² veyne and place of his body ; And yen ³ most it greueeth trewely	1027
It's nearly done for me.	Of any crafte þat man can ymagyne : Fadir, in feith, ⁴ it spilt ⁵ hath wel ny myne. ⁶	1029

In like wise, Hoccleve says to the old Beggar, *De Reg.*, p. 35 :

st. 138 (Harl. 4866).

Had I al- ways livd in poverty,	If þat I hadde of custume, or þis tyme, Lyued in indigences ⁷ wretchednesse, The lesse heer-after schuld I sette ⁸ by me ; But in myn agē wrastle with ⁹ hardnesse, That with hym stroglid ¹⁰ neuere in greennesse	960
I shouldn't feel it so much now ; but the change is strange.	Of youth,—þat mutacion and chaunge An-othir day me seemē shulde al straunge.	966

st. 139.

God keep me from poverty ! I'd sooner die than live miserably.	He þat neuere knewe swetnesse of wele, Thogh he it lakke ay / lesse hym greue it shal, Than hym þat hath ben weleful yeeris ¹¹ fele, And in effect hath felt no greef at al. O pouert, God me sheldē fro thy fal ! O deth, thy strok is more agreable To me þan lyue a lyf so miserable. ¹²	971 973
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In the *De Regimine* (A.D. 1411-12) Hoccleve tells us that he livd at Chester's Inn in the Strand,¹³ where he also was, I suppose, as a

¹ smerteth Reg., smerth H. ² euere H, euery Reg. ³ than H. ⁴ feth H, feith Reg. ⁵ sete Reg. ⁶ me Reg. ⁷ indigence and Reg. ⁸ sette Reg., sit H. ⁹ in Reg. ¹⁰ neuere stroglide Reg. ¹¹ wele many yeres Reg. ¹² So again on p. 65, st. 259, l. 1811-13 :

Wold honest dethe come, and me overterve,
And of my gravē nie putte in seisyne,
To all my greef that were a medecyne.

¹³ On Chester's Inn, on part of the site of Somerset House, Strand, where Hoccleve and his wife livd in 1411-12, Sir George Buck, in his Appendix to the 1615 edition of Stow's *Annales*, says, when writing of the Third University, London, p. 477 :—

"Of Strand Inne, and of the Studies of these Innes of Chauncery, cap. 25.

"There was also another Inne of Chauncery in the Strand, called *Chester Inne*, or Strand Inne, which, together with the houses of the Bishops of Chester, of Worcester, and of Landaffe, and the Church of S. Mary in the Strand, were all in the yeere of our Lorde MDXXXIX swallowed vp in the foundation of the goodly palace built by the Duke of Somerset, Uncle Maternell to K. Edward the 6. and thus much for the foundation and institutun of these Innes of Chauncery. For the other matters belonging vnto them, I am able to say by mine owne experience, that in these houses of Chauncery liue and common together, Attornies, Sollicitors, and Clarks belonging to the Courts, as well of nere and strict law, as of equitie and conscience. The chiefe or governour in euery Inne of these Innes of Chauncery, is called Principall. And in these

§ 1. *Hoccleve's Life. A poor married Man, and a Preacher.* xix

bachelor, handy for his Club in the Temple, for John Carpenter,—both before and after he was Town-Clerk of London,—and for City life in general, which he must have given up when he ranged himself, and settled into a poor married man.

Then if we put Hoccleve's marriage and start of post-Club life in 1410-11, we have our rake as a teacher, philosopher and reformer, in the *De Regimine*¹ in 1411-12, and the Balades at p. 61 below, to

houses or colledges the Tyrones and young Gentlemen, at their comming vp are initiated to make first here an essay and a triall of the studie of the Law, which if they like, and haue a desire to proceed, they remoue shortly after to one of the Innes of Court, whereunto that house of Chauncery belongeth: for he can take no degrees in an Inne of Chauncery but such as I here last named, which bee rather seruices and procurations than aduancements and honora. Euery Inne of Court hath two or three Innes of Chauncery belonging vnto it, viz. to the middle Temple belong New Inne, and sometimes [formerly] *Strand Inne*. To the inner Temple belong Cliffords Inne, Lyons Inne, and Clements Inne. Thauies Inne and Furniuals Inne are members of Lincolns Inne. Staple Inne and Barnards Inne belong to Grayes Inne." . . .

Hoccleve speaks twice of his home as a "pore cote:" *De Reg.* 31/845, 34/940.

¹ The late Thomas Wright says in his Preface to his edition of *De Regimine* for the Roxburghe Club, 1860, p. xiii.-xiv.: "Hoccleve tells us that he compiled his treatise *De Regimine Principum* from three works which were very celebrated in his time. These were, in the first place, the supposititious epistle of Aristotle, addressed to Alexander the Great, and known by the title of *Secretum Secretorum*; secondly, the book of Egidius de Columna or Colonna, entitled *De Regimine Principum*, and of which Hoccleve speaks as 'Gyles of Regement of Princes'; and lastly the well-known work of Jacobus de Cessolis, or Jacques de Cessoles, entitled the 'Game of Chess Moralized,' of which Caxton's celebrated book, 'The Game of the Chess,' was a translation through the French." After the Proem, and the long account of himself by the old Beggar who advises and tells his story to Hoccleve, the poet, says Mr. Wright, "in his introductory part, complains of the neglect which was shown in his time to the old soldiers of the French wars of the preceding century (p. 32); of the great prevalence of covetousness among the gentry (p. 43); of the eagerness of the churchmen after rich benefices, and of the prevalence of pluralism and absenteeism (p. 51); of the mischievous influence of the aristocracy in the courts of law (p. 54); of the evil practice of betrothing children in their infancy (p. 59); and of the frequency of adultery (p. 64). When he enters upon the subject of his book, he complains of the want of truthfulness among the knights of his time (p. 82), and of the absence of righteousness in England (p. 89); he urges the prince [after, Henry V] to obey the laws when he should have become king, as one of the principal duties of royalty, and complains that in England the laws were neglected, and feuds and outrages passed unpunished. Poor men could get no justice, while rich men committed crimes with impunity (p. 102). He especially urges the prince as king to protect the free election of the bishops in the cathedral churches (p. 104). In treating of Pity he condemns the practice of granting pardons for offences, giving an illustrative anecdote of a king of 'this land'

the Prince of Wales, and p. 56-7 to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. On March 21, 1412-13, the day of Henry V's accession, when the English lords did homage to him at Kennington, Hoccleve appears as a champion of orthodoxy and the Church, and writes the King the Balade on p. 39-40, exhorting him to be just, to govern with equity, and strengthen his Mother, Holy Church, by driving out heresy. Early in 1413 also comes the Balade on p. 47-8, about Henry V's enmity to Heresy, and his having Richard II's bones buried next to his Queen's in Westminster Abbey, one of the first things that the new King ordered to be done. On Sept. 28, 1413, Hoccleve got an *Inspeximus* and Confirmation by Henry V of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8d.,—provided he should not be retained by any one else,—and a grant of his arrears from Michaelmas 1412 (App. XXV). Moreover, three days after, on Dec. 1, 1413, this year's arrears were paid to Hoccleve (App. XXVI). In 1414, he has a clerk, John Welde, and by his hands gets £1 6s. 8d. for 9 months' parchment, ink and red wax on Jan. 17 (App. XXVII); and on May 2 his Easter £6 13s. 4d. (App. XXVIII), but his Michaelmas one seems not to have been paid. For 1415 both his half-yearly instalments were paid, the second on Feb. 29, 1416 (App. XXIX, XXX).

On Aug. 13, 1415, when Henry V. took ship for Harfleur, on his Agincourt campaign, Hoccleve wrote, or began, his Remonstrance with Oldcastle, p. 8-24, reproaching him for having left the Faith, for being God's foe 9/27, for having sold his soul to the Devil 10/61; bidding him return to God 16/248, praying God for him 16/265, damning to hell the heretics who 'd misled him, p. 17,

(p. 112), and advocates the punishment of death (p. 114). In the chapter on Mercy (p. 119), Hoccleve commends the merciful dispositions of John of Gaunt and his son Henry IV (p. 120). And in treating of 'largesse' and avarice, he speaks again of his own youthful prodigality, and repeats his appeal for the payment of his annuity (p. 156). He complains of the absence of liberality among lords in his time (p. 168). In speaking of Prudence, he counsels the prince, still with an eye to his own grievance, not to grant pensions unless he intends to pay them (p. 172). And, in his last chapter, when treating of Peace, he alludes to the troubles in England (p. 187); complains how unworthy people were promoted in the world before those who were worthy, while the deserving 'clerkes' of Oxford and Cambridge were neglected (p. 187); describes the melancholy state of France (p. 190); and deprecates the hostility between France and England (p. 193).

§ 1. *Hoccl.'s Life. Poem against Oldcastle 1415. Payments.* xxi

st. 35, hoping they'll be burnt here, 18/320; arguing Popish doctrines with them and calling them asses, 19/352; denouncing their rising in St. Giles's Fields in Jan. 1414, p. 20, st. 49, defending images, p. 21, rebuking communism, p. 22, st. 57-8, declaring that the orthodox 'll go to Heaven, the heretics to Hell, p. 23, st. 60, shaming Oldcastle for not fighting by Henry's side in France, p. 24, st. 63, and appealing to him to flee the Devil and humble himself to Henry V, p. 24, st. 64.

As the Balade to Henry V, on p. 62 below, begins "Victorious Kyng," I incline to put it late in 1415 or in 1416, after Henry's return to England from Agincourt. In it Hoccleve refers to a "bill" or petition by himself and two fellow-clerks—not three, as before 1408, p. 60, l. 25-6—for money for their "ful laborious" and "long service," 62/15—16, and says that if the King doesn't give em something, poverty will compel "us thre to trotte vnto Newgate." It is curious that Hoccleve's 1416-Easter £6 13s. 4d. is paid to him on July 8 by three instalments thro friends,—had he borrowd from any of them?—£2 thro Jn. Burgh,¹ 6s. 8d. thro Robert Welton, and £4 6s. 8d. thro Jn. Welde, Hoccleve's clerk. Moreover, he gets 13s. 4d. as a loan from the Treasury (App. XXXI).

On Feb. 14, 1417, Hoccleve was paid, thro his clerk John Welde, £2 6s. 8d. for 4 months' ink and red wax, bought of Wm. Lucy (App. XXXII).

His 1416-Michaelmas £6 13s. 4d. is paid him on March 13, 1417 (App. XXXIII), and his 1417-Easter one on May 25, 1417 (App. XXXIV). His Michaelmas payment he takes in two instalments of £3 6s. 8d. each, on Nov. 30, 1417, and Feb. 10, 1418 (App. XXXV). In 1418, 1419, 1420, and 1421, the half-yearly payments of his Annuity are duly made within each year (App. XXXVI-VIII, XL-XLIV), and on July 10, 1419, he gets 12s. 2d. for 16 months' ink and red wax (App. XXXIX).

Yet though he was drawing his Annuity regularly during these five years 1416-21,—and "by his own hands" on 13 March and 30

¹ Was this a relative of the Benedict Burgh who finisht Lydgate's verse englishing of the *Secreta Secretorum*, now in the press for the E. E. T. Soc., edited by Mr. R. Steele of Bedford?

Nov. 1417, 8 July 1419, 17 June and 26 Nov. 1420, and 5 July and 11 Nov. 1421,—Hoccleve, poor old fellow, tells us in his pitiful *Complaint*, p. 89-106 below, written in November 1421, as I suppose, or early in 1422, how he went mad five years before, p. 96-7, st. 6-8, but then recovered, tho in Westminster Hall and London (city) his old friends turned their heads from him. And yet, tho he looked sane, "there never stode yet, wyse man on my fete," a true saying. He seems to have gone back for a short time—till, at least, near Michaelmas 1422; see below—to the Privy-Seal Office, p. 106, st. 43, and made up his mind to take his trouble as all for the best, p. 109, st. 57. Then he gives us his *Dialog* with a Friend, in which he talks about his *Complaint*, and the evils of counterfeit and light coin, from clipping and washing, about which he says that an Act of Parliament has been past, that makes the weighing of coin necessary. This is evidently the Act of 1421 A.D., 9 Henry V, chapter xi, enacting that no coin shall be good payment unless it is of the standard weight.¹ Then Hoccleve says he means to english the Latin *Scite mori*, "Lerne for to dye" (p. 117). He is 53; his sight and mind are weakend (p. 119, st. 36), his insanity didn't come from book-study, but from his long illness (p. 121, st. 61); he has long owed a book to the Lord-Lieutenant (during Henry V's absence in France, 10 June, 1421, to H.'s death, 31 Aug. 1422), Humfrey, Duke of Gloster, and took pen and ink to begin it as soon as he heard of the Duke's second return from France. (This was

¹ 9 Henry V, ch. xi, A.D. 1421.—*Statutes*, ed. Pulton, 1636, p. 290-1.

"No English Gold shall be received in payment but by the Kings weight.

"Item, to avoid the deceits and perils which long have continued within the Realme, by Washers, Clippers, and Counterfeiters of the money of the Realme of England, to the great losse and damage of all the people of the same Realme: The King, by the aduice and assent of all the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament, hath ordained and stablished, that from Christmas euen next comming, none of the King's liege people shall receive any money of English gold in payment, but by the Kings weight thereupon ordained. And because a great part of the gold now current in payment, is not of rightfull weight, nor of good alloy, the same shall be to the great losse and costs of the Kings subjects, vnlesse it please him to relieue them in this case: Our Soueraigne Lord the King, of his speciall grace, hath remised and pardoned to all his liege people which, betwixt this and the said Feast of Christmas, shall cause to be coyned of new at the Kings coinage within the Tower of London their money of gold that is not of iust weight nor of good alloy, that is to say, all that to him pertaineth for this new coinage of such gold as afore. Sauing alwaies to the Master of the Mint, and to other officers of the same, that which to them reasonably pertaineth."

§ 1. Hoccl.'s "*Complaint*" &c. of 1422. *His Wife's Kindness*. xxiii

doubtless with Henry V and his French Queen on Feb. 3, 1421: Halle, p. 105, ed. 1809). On p. 130, Hoccleve mentions the Duke's worthiness at Cherbourg (in 1418¹), his winning Constantine—seemingly in 1417²,—and his valour at the siege of Rouen, 1418 (city surrendered Jan. 19, 1419). But as the Duke likes dalliance with ladies (p. 135, st. 101), and Hoccleve's friend advises him to make amends to them for the offence they took—quite wrongly, as he well says on p. 137-8—at his Letter of Cupid twenty years before, the poet resolves to english for them the tale of a true wife,—of Jereslaus or Gerelaus—from the *Gesta Romanorum*, which he accordingly does, p. 136, &c. On p. 136, st. 106, l. 739-42, Hoccleve's wife turns up again; so he no doubt had some one to look after him during his long illness and madness; and tho he says nothing about his wife's care of him, we may hope fairly (if not admit) that his stanza 57, p. 154, applies here:

"In al the world / so louynge tendrenesse	394
Is noon / as is the loue of a womman,	
To hir chyld namely / & as I gesse,	
To hire housbonde also / where-of witnesse	397
We weddid men may bere / if þat vs lyke;	
And so byhoueth / a thanke vs to pyke."	399

If for "namely / &" in l. 396, we read "/ and namely (specially)" with MS Reg. 17 D 6, the line runs better, and the testimony to the wife's affection is more emphatic. But see p. xxxvii below.

Having finisht this first *Gesta* story, and added the Moralization which wasn't in his book, but was lent him by his friend, p. 175, Hoccleve englishes the first Part of the Latin *Scite mori* or "Lerne to dye," and leaves the other three Parts alone, p. 212, st. 132,

¹ A.D. 1418. Halle's *Chronicle* (1809), p. 83: "To this siege came the duke of Gloucester, with therle of Suffolke and the lorde of Burgainy, whiche had taken the toune of Chierburgh, and wer lodged before the porte of Saint Hillarij, nerer their enemies by fortie roddees then any other persones of the armie."

² After Henry V took Caen in 1417, and the Duke of Gloster, Lisieux, Halle says (*Chronicle*, 1809, p. 80) that

"diuerse townes in the country of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke of Gloucester, where he appoynted these capitaines.

"At Caution, the lorde Botraux.

At Seint Clow, Reignold West.

At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh.

At Chiergurg [Cherbourg], the lord Grey Codner, and after his decease, sir water Hungerford."

except the portion which tells what joy and bliss are prepared for those who shall go hence to the heavenly city of Jerusalem, and the torment that is in Hell. Then, at the asking of his friend, who wants a tale to warn his son of fifteen against the wiles of women, Hoccleve englishes a second *Gesta* story, p. 218 &c., of the prostitute who beguild an Emperor's son (Jonathas) of his magic Ring, Brooch, and Cloth, tho at last he got them back again: the story of Fortunatus, of which William Browne printed Hoccleve's text in his *Shepheards Pipe*,¹ 1614. The MS winds up with an Envoy of the

¹ Browne praises Hoccleve highly, and promises to print the rest of his works if this sample tale pleases. This come after the Tale. Before, Browne says, p. 177, ed. 1869:—

I will sing what I did leere
Long agon in Ianueere,

After the Tale, p. 196, Browne's *Works*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, ii. 196-8, ed. 1869:—

Willy.

By my hooke, this is a Tale
Would befit our Whitson-ale:
Better cannot be, I wist,
Descant on it he that list.
And full gladly giue I wold
The best Cosset in my fold
And a Mazor for a fee,
If this song thou't teachen me.
Tis so quaint and fine a lay,
That vpon our reuell day
If I sung it, I might chance
(For my paines) be tooke to dance
With our Lady of the May.

Rogel.

Rogel will not say thee nay,
If thou deem'st it worth thy paines.
Tis a song, not many Swaines
Singen can; and though it be
Not so deckt with nyctee
Of sweet words full neatly chused
As are now by Shepheards vsed,
Yet, if well you sound the sence,
And the Morals excellence,
You shall finde it quit the while,
And excuse the homely stile.
Well I wot, the man that first
Sung this Lay, did quench his thirst,
Deeply as did euer one
In the Muses *Helicon*.
Many times he hath been seen
With the Fairies on the greene,
And to them his Pipe did sound,
Whilst they danced in a round.
Mickle solace would they make him,

Of a skilfull aged Sire,
As we tosted by the fire.

And at mid-night often wake him,
And convey him from his room
To a field of yellow broome;
Or into the Medowes where
Mints perfume the gentle Aire,
And where *Flora* spends her treasure:
There they would begin their measure.
If it chanc'd nights sable shrowds
Muffled *Cynthia* vp in cloudes,
Safely home they then would see him,
And from brakes and quagmires free
him.

There are few such swaines as he
Now adayes for harmony.

Willie!

What was he thou praisest thus?

Rogel.

Scholler vnto *Tityrus*:
Tityrus the brauest Swaine
Euer liued on the plaine,
Taught him how to feed his Lambes,
How to cure them, and their Dams;
How to pitch the fold, and then
How he should remoue agen:
Taught him when the Corne was ripe,
How to make an oaten Pipe,
How to ioyne them, how to cut them,
When to open, when to shut them;
And with all the skill he had,
Did instruct this willing lad.

Willie.

Happy surely was that Swaine!
And he was not taught in vaine:
Many a one that prouder is,
Han not such a song as this,

§ 1. *Lady Westmorland, Dedicatee of Hoccleve's "Complaint."* xxv

Volume to "my lady of Westmorland" by her "humble servant . . . T^r Hoccleve."

Now, assuming that the allusions and dates above given fix the date of the *Complaint* MS to the winter of 1421 or the early part of 1422, and assuming that Hoccleve, after his long illness and in his perpetual want of money, sent the MS to Lady Westmorland as soon as it was written, it is clear—say my good friends, Norroy King at Arms (G. E. Cokayne) and Horace Round (whose letter dated 1 March 1883 has just turnd up again)—that the Lady was John of Gaunt's daughter Joan (by Katherine Swinford), who was Countess of Westmoreland from 1397 to 1425, and Dowager Countess from 1425 to 1440.¹ But if any reader thinks that Hoccleve did with the Durham MS. what he did with the Phillippes, put several poems of later date with others of early ones, he can take his choice of two other Countesses of Westmoreland, Elizabeth and Margaret, before Hoccleve's death in 1450 (†), according to Norroy's pedigree printed below.²

And haue garlands for their need,
That but iarre as *Skellons* reed.

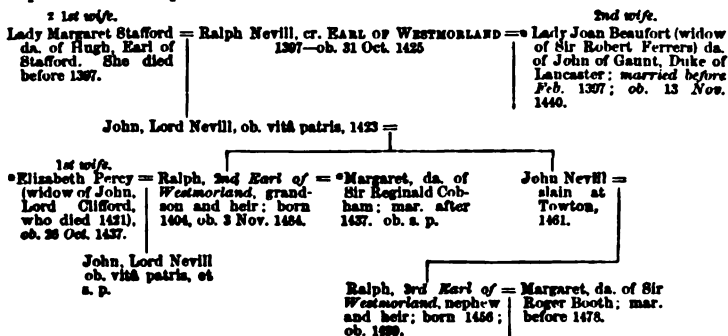
Roged.

Tis too true : But see the Sunne
Hath his iourney fully run ;

And his horses all in sweate,
In the Ocean coole their heate :
Seuer we our sheepe, and fold them ;
T'will be night ere we haue told them.

THOMAS OCCLEVE, one of the priuy Seale, composed first this tale, and was neuer till now imprinted. As this shall please, I may be drawne to publish the rest of his workes, being all perfect in my hands. Hee wrote in CHAUCERS time.

¹ She was buried at Lincoln with her mother Katherine (Swinford), for whom she had founded a Chantry there in 1437-8. Her first husband died between Sept. 1410 and Sept. 1411.



² Of these three Ladies, Joan was Countess c. 1397 to 1440; Elizabeth, 1425 to 1437; Margaret, c. 1437 to (?).

Before Hoccleve finisht his Complaint he must have written his Balade in the Ashburnham MS (see below, p. xxviii), "*pour la bien venue du tresnoble Roy H. le V^e . . . hors du Roialme de France (cestassauoir, sa dareine venue)*", 3 Feb. 1421. On Feb. 29, 1422, Hoccleve is paid 40s. 11½*d.* for 19 months' red wax and ink (App. XLV), and on May 25 he gets his half-year's annuity of £6 13s. 4*d.* to Easter 1422 (App. XLVI). On Aug. 31, 1422, Henry V dies, and the baby Henry VI succeeds him.

On Jan. 24, 1423, there is an Inspeximus and Confirmation, on behalf of Henry VI, of Hoccleve's Annuity-grant of £13 6s. 8*d.* (App. XLVII). On Feb. 15 he gets a half-year's payment (£6 13s. 4*d.*) to Michaelmas 1422 (App. XLVIII), as *late* one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal Office; and on May 20, 1423, he gets a like payment to Easter 1423 (App. XLIX), being again described as "*late one of the Clerks of the Privy Seal Office.*" On May 20, 1423, he is also paid 23s. 1*d.* (or 4*d.*) for parchment, ink, and red wax, bought by him of Walter Lucy, of London, for the Privy-Seal Office (App. L).

At last in 1424 comes a grant to our poor poet, now 56 or 55. On July 4, 1424, "*votre tres humble clerc, Thomas Hoccleve de l'office du prive seal,*" is granted, by the King and Privy Council, such sustenance yearly during his life in the Priory of Southwick, Hants.,¹ as Nicholas Mokkinge, late master of St. Lawrence in the Poultry,² had (Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 4604, art. 34; Privy Council Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 152, App. XLIX below). Notwithstanding the grant of this corody—which was, let us hope, worth £20 a year, (see p. xi

¹ Southwick, a parish in the hundred of Portsdown, co. Hants, 4 miles N.E. of Fareham, its post town, and 3 N. of Porchester railway station. The village is considerable, and near Bere Forest. The parish includes the manor of Aplestede. It had formerly a priory of Black Canons, in which Henry VI was married to Margaret of Anjou. At the Dissolution the revenues were returned at £257, and the site given to the Whites.—Hamilton's *Gazetteer*.

² See Dugdale, vi, Pt. I, p. 248, Nicholas Mockyng, 19th Jan., 1 Hen. IV, A.D. 1400, Master of St. Lawrence, Poultry. The Priory of Southwick was first founded by Hen. I in 1133 in the church of St. Mary Porchester, and not long after removed to Southwyke. Priors in Hoccleve's time: Thomas Curteis or Cortays, 22 July, 22 Ric. II; Edward Dene, 23 Sept., 11 Hen. VI; John Soburton, on whose death Philip Stanebrok received the temporalities, Sept. 20th, 3 Edw. IV.

§ 1. *Hoccleve perhaps dies in 1450. Ashburn. MS of his Poems. xxvii*

above, and Appendix I)—Hoccleve received the Michaelmas half-year's payments of his Annuity, £6 13s. 4d. each, both for 1424 and 1425 (Appendix LII, LIII); after which the Southwick priory doubtless kept him in moderate comfort. And after this, unless our friend Mr. Gollancz shows that Lord Ashburnham's autograph Hoccleve MS has any other dated poems besides the Cupid of 1402, and the Hen. V one of 1421, we find nothing of Hoccleve's that we can assign a definite date to, except his "Balade to my gracious Lord of Yorke," the father of Edward IV (p. 49—51 below), which, as it asks that it may not be shown by Prince Edward to (his tutor) "Master Picard," was probably written between 1448, when Edward was six years old, and Hoccleve's death, that Mason supposes took place in 1450. The "Balade to my maister Carpenter," on p. 63, must be an early work. See p. xxxiv below.

The Hoccleve part of the Ashburnham MS 133 contains :

1. *Inuocacio ad patrem :*

beg. To thee / we make oure inuocacioun
Thow god / the fadir / which vn-to vs alle

20 stanzas of 7 lines each, *ababb cc*, the last ending with

And stifly graunte vs in thy cause stonde
And flitte nat / whan we take it on honde.

2. *Ad filium :*

beg. O blessid chylde Ihesu / what haast thou do
þat for vs shuldist souffre swich Iewyse

10 stanzas of 7, the last ending

And graunt vs grace thee to loue & drede
And yeue vs heuene / whan þat we be dede.

3. *Ad spiritum sanctum :*

beg. Now holy goost of the hy deitee
Loue and holy communicacioun

10 stanzas of 7, the last ending

Our soules / hem to haue in gouernance
O Trinitee haue vs in remembraunce.

4. *Ad beatam Virginem :*

beg. Worshipful maiden to the world / Marie
Modir moost louynge vn-to al mau-kynde

7 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

For whom thow preyest / god nat list denye
Thyn axynge / blessid maiden Marie.

5. Item de *beata Virgine* :

beg. Syn thow modir of grace / haast euer in mynde
Altho / þat vp-on thee han memorie

20 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

His passion / witnesse bere may
Remembre on þat / and preye for vs aye

6. Item de *beata Virgine* :

beg. Who so desirith to gete and conquere
The blisse of heuene: needful is a guyde

*Ce feust faicte
a l'instance de
T. Marleburgh* }

Prologus, 3 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*,

Fabula (story of a Monk who, by saying *Ave Maria* 50 times a day, got the Virgin a sleeveless garment; and then, by trebling the 50 Aves and adding to every tenth a Pater-Noster, got sleeves put to the garment, and afterwards became an Abbot of his monastery and went to heaven), 15 like stanzas.

7. *Lepistre de Cupid*, printed below from other worse MSS, p. 71-92; 68 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*.

8. *Ceste balade ensuante feust faite pour la bien venue du tres-noble Roy. H. le V^e (que dieu pardoint!) hors du Roialme de France / cestassauoir, sa dareine venue.* [? 3 Feb., 1421, tho the Queen is not mentiond in it, but Henry is cald "heir and Regent of France" in accordance with his treaty with the French King: see *Holinshed, Chron.* iii. 573-4.¹]

beg. Victorious cristen Prince / our lord souereyn
Our lige lord ful dred and douted / we

5 stanzas of 7, *ababb cc*, ending

To be ful greet / for why / to vs echone
Welcome be your peereles persone.

¹ "The morow after Trinitie sundaie, being the third of June [1420], the mariage was solemnised and fullie consummate betwixt the King of England and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclaimed *heire and regent of France*." *Holinshed*, iii. 573, lines 23-9, ed. 1587.

"25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner: *Nostre treschier filz Henry, roy d'Engleterre, heredere de France*. And in Latine in this manner: *Præclarissimus* [for *præcariusimus*] *filius noster Henricus, rex Angliæ & hæres Franciæ*." *Holinshed*, iii. 574, col. 2, lines 69-73, ed. 1587.

Stanzas 10, 11, 12 of Hoccleve's "How to Learn to Die"

(p. 180-1 below)

from Lord Ashburnham's Hoccleve MS.

They moedul if hir tyme han descendid
In synne, and for thy, Oham Son Karoly - death
Op on hem fallith, and they nat amended
And shal from hem broue Oynd & breeth
For shee smoced synne hem, Oham shee sleeth
So helle soon the soules miserable
Ohey to dwell in peyne pduable

Death Olde han ofte a byrdil put on thee
And thee Oath hys led aWay, the Olde
Grade the hand of goddes mercy be
Thou art right moedul On to p lord holde
For thod Ouyppid Oep in synne olde
He spard thee, thy synne no O forsake
And On to my doctrine, thod thee take

More to thee greofre shal my love
Than chosen gold or the booke of colone
Of philosophes, & for that the more
Conueniently shold, for thy persone
Ondur sensible cysample thee to one
To god, & thee the better for to theke
The mystere of my love, I shal thee sheke



9. Cy ensuent trois chaunceours / lune conpleynante a la Dame
monoie / & lautre, La response dele a cellui qui se conpleynt; & la
tierce / la commendacion de ma dame.

I. Roundel:

beg. Wel may I pleyne on yow lady moneye
bat in the prison of your sharp scantnesse

3 stanzas of 4, *abba*, the burden being repeated thrice—after each
half of st. 2, and after st. 3;—ends

Elles I moot in right a feynt gladnesse
Synge of yow thus / & yow accuse & seye [Wel may I, &c.]

II. La response:

beg. Hoccleus / I wole / it to thee knowen be
I, lady Moneye / of the world goddesse

3 like stanzas, with the burden repeated as above; ends

Hir comly body / shape as a foot bal
And shee syngith / ful lyke a papelay.

10. A Couplet:

Aftir our song / our mirthe & our gladnesse
Heer folwith a lessoun of heuynesse.

11. *Hic incipit ars Vtilissima sciendi mori. Cum omnes homines*
&c.: the first 96 stanzas of the Poem printed below, p. 178-203,
with a few various readings, some being improvements.

The only other MS we have in Hoccleve's hand (almost all of it)
is the large quarto Additional MS 24,062 in the British Museum,
containing copies of documents, warrants, letters, &c., passing under
the Privy Seal.¹ They are chiefly in French, a few in Latin; and in

¹ Catalogue of Additions to the MS of the British Museum in the years
1854—1875, vol. ii. (1877), p. 3:—

"24,062. A large collection of forms of documents passing under the Privy
Seal; consisting of copies of letters and warrants, *tempp.* Rich. II.—Hen. V.;
chiefly in French: compiled by Thomas Hocclif, or Occeleve, the poet, Clerk of
the Privy Seal, and almost wholly in his handwriting; in the following order:—

1. Table of Contents, French, ff. 2-4 b, 198—201 b.
2. Letters addressed to the Chancellor, under the following heads: "Pur
la sommacion du parlement," "Licence," "Grauntz," "Pardons," "Collacions,"
"Nominacions," "Restitucions," "Presentacions," "Ratificacions," "Sauf
conduytz," and "de diverses natures," f. 5.
3. Warrants to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, f. 44.
4. "Au Tresorer dengleterre par soy, et au Tresorer de lostel," f. 53.
5. "As Tresorers des guerres," f. 54.
6. To the Justiciar and Chamberlain of Chester, f. 59 b.
8. To the Chamberlain and other officers of North and South Wales, f. 69 b.
9. "Pur la guerre"; to various persons, f. 73 b.
10. To the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, f. 75.

turning over the leaves I saw only two notes in English. Article 17 of this MS contains 28 pages of copied letters, and is headed *Omnegadium*, a title that makes you smile when you see it. On leaf 101 back, Hoccleve adds a bottom line: "4 Hic finitur calendaria istius Libri secundum compositionem Thome Hoclyf. facta per manum suam ad finem libri." In the margin of leaf 124, against a French transcript in another hand, is "*secundum copiam hocclief*." The two English notes are at the foot of leaf 102 front and 194 back. At the latter place Hoccleve had left seven lines blank at the bottom of the page, and therefore writes in:—

"¶ Heere made y lepe yeer—ex negligencia &c. Witnesse on Petebat &c, in the nexte syde folwyng, which sholde haue stonden on this syde / but how so it stonde / it is a membre of the matere precedent."

The characteristic form of Hoccleve's *W* in his Poems is seen in some careless writing at the foot of leaf 102 front, and leaf 194 back of this Addit. MS 24,062. Compare the facsimile of the last page of the Durham MS. in the present volume. There is a small capital *R* inside the *W*.

§ 2. *Hoccleve's Love of Chaucer.* The chief merit of Hoccleve is that he was the honourer and pupil of Chaucer. Dukes don't matter; Chaucer does. On his Master, Hoccleve has three long passages in his *De Regimine*, p. 71, p. 75-6, p. 179, ed. T. Wright,

11. "A diuerses Coillours"; collectors of customs and subsidies, f. 76 b.

12. "As Maires et autres officers ioyntement," f. 79.

13. To Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Justices, "Gardeins diuerses," Escheators, Clerk of Arraigns, Constables and Captains of castles, Seneschals, Receivers, Farmers and Auditors, f. 83.

14. Letter of Charles V. of France to the town of Abbeville, Melun-sur-Seine, 19 Mar. 1368. French, f. 102 b.

15. "Lettres Patentes," for various purposes, f. 103.

16. "Lettres adresses a diuerses estatx en Guyenne," f. 115.

17. "Omnegadium"; letters addressed to various persons for different purposes, f. 120 b.

18. "Pur venir au conseil," f. 136.

19. "Pur apprestre monoie, chivalx et chariottes," f. 137.

20. "Missives." Under this heading are copies of letters from the King of England to various foreign princes; with a few letters addressed to the King, ff. 139 b—163 b, 168, 169, 185 b—197.

21. Papal bulls, f. 164—167 b, 170—178.

22. "Exordies et extraits des lettres"; beginnings and clauses of letters, ff. 178—185 b.

Vellum; xvth cent." . . .

besides the two lines he puts into the mouth of the old beggar with whom he talks (p. 67, st. 267, l. 1867-8, ed. Wright):—

þou were aqueynted with Chaucer¹ pardee :
God saue² his soule, best of any wyght!—

Harl. 4866, lf. 34.

and I think we may fairly conclude from l. 1965-6 that Hoccleve was either with Chaucer when he died, or saw him on his “bed mortel” just before his death. Hoccleve was daily at work in Westminster Palace, of which the present Westminster Hall was part, as were the present Old and New Palace Yards. On Christmas Eve, 1399, Chaucer had a lease for life of a house in the garden of the Chapel of St. Mary of Westminster (later, Henry VII’s Chapel), part of the Abbey grounds. Surely the pupil must have often visited his Master before the latter’s death; and surely his naming of “þi bed mortel” means something more than death in the writer’s absence.

st. 280:—Harl. MS. 4866, lf. 35 bk.

But weylaway! so is myn hert[e] wo,
That þe honour of Englyssh tonge is deed,
Of which I wont was han conseil and reed.

1958 Alas, the
Glory of Eng-
lish is dead,
1960

st. 281.

O maister decre / and fadir reuerent, [lf. 36]
Mi maister Chaucer, flour of eloquence,
Mirour of fructuous entendement,
O vniversel fadir in science,
Allas, þat þou thyn excellent prudence
In þi bed mortel mightist noght byquethe!
What eiled deth / allas! why wold he sle the?

1961 my Master
Chaucer!

1965 Why didn't
he leave me
his skill, on
his death-
bed?

1967

st. 283.

O deth, þou didest naght harme singuleer
In slaghtere of him, but al þis land it smertith;
But nathelees / yit hast þou no power
His namē sle; his hy vertu astertith
Vnsalyn fro þe / whiche ay va lyfly hertyth,
With bookes of his ornat endlytyng,
That is to al þis land enlumynyng.³

1975 But, Death,

you cannot
slay his fame.

1979

1981

¹ Caucher, Harl. 4866, lf. 34: Chaucers, MS Reg. 17 D 6.

² haue H.

³ He goes on: “Hast þou nat eke my maister Gower slayn [1408],
Whos vertu I am insufficient
For to descreyue, I wote wel in certayn.”

1982
1984

- p. 75, st. 297 :—Harl. MS 4866, lf. 37.
 He would have taught me, but I was dull.
 My dere maistir—God his soule quyte !— 2077
 And fadir Chaucer, fayn wolde han me taght,
 But I was dul, and lerned lite or nagh. 2079
- st. 298.
 Allas ! my worthi maister honorable, [lf. 37 bk.] 2080
 This landes verrey tresor and richesse !
 Death has stript the land of his sweet rhetoric.
 Dethe, by thi deth / hath harme irreparable
 Vnto vs doon ; hir vengeable duresse
 Despoiled hath pis land of þe swetnesse 2084
 Of rethorik / for vnto Tullius
 Was neuer man so lyk amonges vs. 2086
- st. 299.
 He was the highest in Philosophy.
 Also who was hier in philosophie 2087
 To Aristotle / in our tonge but thow ?
 The steppes of Virgile in poesie
 Thow folwedist eke, men wot wel ynow.
 That combre-world þat þe my maistir slow, 2091
 Would I slayne were ! Deth was to hastyf,
 To renne on þe, and reuē the thi lyf. 2093
- st. 300, p. 76.
 Deth hath but smal consideracion 2094
 Vnto þe vertuous, I haue espied,
 No more—as shewith the probacion,—
 Than to a vicious maister losel tried ; 2097
 Among an heep / euery man is maistried ;
 With hire / as wel þe porre / as is þe riche,
 Lerede¹ and lewde eeke / standen al yliche.
 Eccl. 10.
 Moritur doctus atimul & indoctus.
- st. 301 (ed. Wright). Harl. 4866, lf. 37 bk.
 She myghte han taryed hir vengeance a while 2101
 Til that some man had egal to the be.
 Never shall England breed another Chaucer !
 Nay, lat be þat ! sche knew wel þat pis yle
 May never man forth bryngē lyk to the,
 And hir offici nedēs do mot she ; 2105
 God bad hir do so, I truste as for the beste ;
 O maister, maister, God þi soulē reste ! 2107
- p. 179, st. 712 :—Harl. MS 4866, lf. 87 bk.
 The firstē fyndere of our faire langage 4978
 Hath seyde in caas semblable, & othir moo, [Keep the Sub-
 bath, and bow your
 heart to God :
 later in MS.]
 So hyl wel, þat it is my dotage
 For to expresse or touche any of thoo.
 Alasse ! my fadir fro þe worlde is goo, 4982
 My worthi maister Chaucer, hym I mene :
 Be þou aduoket for hym, heuenes quene ! 4984

¹ Lerd, Harl., Lerede, D Reg. 6.

- st. 713.
- As þou wel knowest, o blissid virgyne, 4985
 With louyng hert and hye deuocion
 In þyne honour he wroot ful many a lyne;
 O now þine helpe & þi promocioun
 To God þi Sonē make a mocion 4989
 How he þi seruaunt was, mayden marie, (11. 88)
 And lat his louē floure and fructifie. 4991
- st. 714.
- Al-þogh his lyfe be queynt, þe résemblaunce 4992
 Of him hap in me so fressh lyflynesse,
 þat, to putte othir men in rémembraunce
 Of his persone, I haue heere his lyknesse
 Do makē, to þis ende, in sothfastnesse, 4996
 þat þei þat haue of him lest þought & mynde,
 By þis peynturē may ageyn him fynde. 4998

he wrote
much in thine
honour.

His likenes
in me fresh in
me, that I've
had it painted
here.



One likes to think of Chaucer's wishing to teach the young Privy-Seal clerk, and giving him advice; as also of the probability that the pupil was with Chaucer sometimes during his illness and at his death. (Gascoigne's making Chaucer "an awful example" is mere parsonic rot: the poet's Retraction fancied.)

xxxiv § 3. *Hoccleve's Patrons, Associates, and Character.*

In the present volume, p. 135, lines 694-7, Hoccleve cites Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* as his authority for saying that women don't like men to put any vice on them, attribute any evil to them. As she says,

Ne I wolde nat / of hym corrected be,
I hate hym / that my vices telleth me,
And so doo mo / god woot of vs / than I.

Wife of Bath's Prolog, D § 1, l. 661-3 Ellesmere
MS, p. 185; Six-Text, p. 352.

He also adopts Chaucer's excuse when he is blamed for abusing the women he meant to defend: "I wasn't the author of these accusations, I was only the reporter of other folk's tales. What they said, I wrote, but I never said it myself," 137/760-3. Why didn't he confess that he had but adapted the poem from Christine de Pisan? The influence of Chaucer is felt all thro Hoccleve.

§ 3. *Hoccleve's Patrons, Associates, and Character.* Among Hoccleve's patrons were Henry IV (p. 47), Henry V, both when Prince of Wales¹ (p. 61) and King (p. 62), Humfrey, Duke of Gloster (p. 129), the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (p. 56), the Duke of York, father of Edward IV, who once askt the poet to send him all the balades he had left (p. 49), the Duchess of York (50/22-4), John of Gaunt (*De. Reg.* 19/512-25), the Lord Chancellor (p. 58), the Countess of Westmorland, daughter of John of Gaunt (p. 23), Lady Hereford (p. 8), Robert Chichele, probably a relative of Henry Chichele, the Archbp. of Canterbury (born c. 1362, died 1442), and possibly Sir John Oldcastle before his heresy so-cald (p. 8). Among his friends were Sir Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Carpenter the famous town-clerk and benefactor of London,²

¹ *Beggar*.—"My lord the pryncce, knoweth he the nat!" . . .

Hoccleve. "Yis, fader, he is my good gracious lordf."—

De Reg., p. 66, l. 1832, 1836.

Also the Beggar says to the poet, *ib.* 69/1899 :

"My lordf the pryncce is good lord the to."

² The City folk long feasted on and plunderd his charity bequest, but in 1833 founded the City of London School out of it.

The tone of the Balade on p. 63 is that of one friend to another who 'd be likely to intercede with the writer's creditors, st. 4, and not to Jn. Carpenter, Bp. of Worcester, even when he was Master of St. Anthony's School and Hospital, or Provost of Oriel (1430). Wouldn't a priest too have been cald "Sir John" instead of "Maister"?

§ 3. *Hoccleve's Associates and Character. Bred a Priest.* xxxv

Mr. Massey, connected with the Duke of Bedford (p. 57), and Mr. Picard, tutor to Henry V when Prince of Wales (p. 50). He belonged to a dining-club in the Temple, and the five Privy-Seal clerks he names are Prentys and Arundel (35/321), and Baillay, Hethe and Offorde (60/25-6). As yet we have entries naming only three of these clerks; Hethe (p. x above), Prentys and Arundel in the note below.¹ Whether the T. Marleburgh, at whose request Hoccleve wrote his third Virgin-poem in the Ashburnham MS (p. xxviii above), was a patron or friend, is not known.

There is so little of the country in Hoccleve's works,² that he was no doubt a cockney. I see no evidence that he had ever crosed a horse;³ and he was too much of a coward (p. 30, st. 22 below) to play football or any other rough game. Meant to be a priest, he was no doubt brought up at some Monastery School, perhaps lived altogether with the monks as an acolyte. He was probably driven and lunged with a sharp curb, and kept on the dumb-jockey all day.

When he got free, and was his own master, he naturally kicked up his heels, and at 18 he seems to have turned into a smart Government-Clerk while waiting for a benefice that he never got. He no

¹ Prentis and Arundel are mentioned in 1431—as entitled to cloth and lamb-fur—in the *Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1429-36, ed. Nicolas 1835, vol. iv, p. 77.

[Additional MS in British Museum, 4606, art. 48, a modern Transcript.

"Petition to the Council, with the Answer, 14th February, 9 Hen. VI, 1431]
"Please au tressage conseil nostre tressoverain seigneur le Roy, grantor une lettre de garrant desoubz le prive seal, directe as Tresorer et Barons de l'eschequer, pur fair pleine et dehu allouance a William Philippe, chivaler, tresorer de l'ouastel nostre dit seigneur, en son accompt qi est arendre devant eux a cause de son dit office, des sommes ensuyantz pur certains draps et fures agnelx, achetez pur diverses clers, escuiers et henxmen a la suyt du dit housteil, encontre le feste de Noel, l'an ix^{me} assavoir, a John Burey, Robert Felton, John Langton, John Tiphon, John de Pount, *John Prentys, John Arundell*, John Seward, Nicholas] Sturgeon et Thomas Walbon, clerks, a chascun en price de v. virges de violet engrenez, xl^s—xx^s John Perient, Thomas Walsyngham, Thomas Bolthorp, William Caldwell, et John Waddesworth, escuiers, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, xiiij^s—ix^s xviii^s ix^s a William Bourghier, Richard Veer, Thomas Beauchamp, Edward Hull, John Norbury, *Johanni Conrey*, Roberto Seint-Johan, et Hugh Malet, henxmen de la Roynie, a chascun d'eux, en price de draps de colour et de raye, et un furre de noir agnelx, ovesque le faisour de sa robe, xv^s vj^s—vj^s iiii^s.

"(In dorso.) xiiij^s die Februarij, anno &c nono, concordatum est per consilium, quod sub privato sigillo, fiat garantum prout infra petitur."

² The proverbial cherry-fair, *De Reg.* p. 47, l. 1289, was probably held in town.

³ Did he see the hunt in 146/184-7 below?

doubt jetted along the Strand in fine weather in the fashionable wide-sleeved cloak of the time,¹ down to the Privy-Seal Office in the Palace at Westminster, where he would see the Prince of Wales and the nobles he mentions in his works, and have a chance of talking to them. As the Strand wasn't paved till 1533, in winter the way was deep (31/193), and Hoccleve took a boat from Chester's Inn (Somerset House) to Westminster, and there worked more or less. When young, he was free with his money, stuff and drank at the cook-shops and taverns at Westminster—paying whatever was asked (p. 30-1)—and instead of going back to the office² after dinner, went for an outing on the river (31/190). The watermen, seeing he was weak, called him "Maister" (31/201), which tickled his vanity—it was a term applied only to gentlemen³—and drew money from him. Then he'd adjourn to Paul's Head Tavern, close to the Cathedral, where he'd treat and kiss the girls, or to his Dinner Club in the Temple, and either at one of these places, or in his rooms at Chester's Inn, sit up drinking all night (p. 34-5, st. 39), and be loth to rise in the morning (p. 35, st. 40). And so the fun went on, as long as Hoccleve had, or could borrow, money (36/369). Then came illness and debt. His rents but £4 a year (*De Reg.*), his earnings nothing (36/364-5), his pension in arrear, and his salary too. A bad look-out. To improve it, he drifted into marriage, and his only prospect was to trot to Newgate (62/8), beg, steal, or starve (*De Reg.* 65/1802). He was ashamed to beg; he wouldn't steal; so he wished to die (*ibid.* 65/1808). When the old Beggar in *De Regimine* reproached him for not being content with £4 a year, which would find him in food, drink, and clothes (*De Reg.* 44/1217), he had to own to a wife—"Towe on my dystaf have I for to spyne" (*ibid.* 45/1226 ;

¹ The old Beggar says to Hoccleve :

"I . . . not so wide a gowne have as is thyne,
So smalle y-pynched, and so fresshe and gay."—

De Reg., p. 15, l. 409-10.

² "Hoom to the priuee seel," he says 31/188, but I suppose that "hoom" means back, and does not imply that Hoccleve had rooms in the Palace.

³ See Harrison's *England*, p. 129, of my edition for the New Shakspere Society. I recollect a little Oxford man in Lincoln's Inn Fields, who was always comforted by the cabmen calling him "Captain" when he was on the look-out for a cab: "it shows they think I'm a gentleman."

§ 3. *Hoccleve's poor Home, and his Wife.* xxxvii

53/1458), and that the fear of poverty made him sad (*De Reg.* 42/1244). He alludes twice in his *De Reg.* to his poor cottage, 34/940, "Whan that I at home dwelle in my poore cote"; and 31/842-7:

"Service, I wote wele, is none heritage; 841

Whan I am out of court another day,
(As I mote whan upone me hastethe age,
And that I no lenger laboure may,)

Unto my poore cote—it is no nay— 845

I mote me drawe, and my fortune abide,
And suffre the storme after the mery tide. 847

As to the relations between Hoccleve and his wife, they were, I suspect—tho she was kind to him during his illness, p. 154, st. 57, and xxiii above—like those between Chaucer and his wife, only much more so. They are shown in the 104th stanza of the *Dialog*, p. 136 below, where the poor poet says that, since a woman had such power that she broke the Devil's (or Serpent's) head, it's a trifle to her to break a man's head. Therefore let no husband think it shame tho his wife breaks his head. Her "reason" (instinct) demands power over men; and tho Holy Writ says men should have rule over their wives, it is the reverse in fact; a man had better hang up his hatchet and sit down. Our fathers had to do the like (l. 748-9). Hoccleve was surely meant by nature to be under his wife's thumb, but couldn't take it out of her in chaff, as Chaucer did out of his. Mrs. Chaucer, however, wouldn't dare take such liberties with her husband as Mrs. Hoccleve would with hers. He evidently knew too what a wash at home was, 139/826.

Still, our master Chaucer tells us by the mouth of the Wife of Bath, that a woman's rule of her husband is compatible with kindness to him:

And whan that I / hadde gotten vnto me,
By maistrie / al the soueraynctee,
And that he seyde / "myn owene trewe wyf,
Do as thee lust / to terme of al thy lyf;
Keepe thyn honour / and keepe eek myn estaat";
After that day / we hadden neuer debaat:
God help me so / I was to hyyn as kynde
As any wyf / from Denmark vnto Ynde,
And also trewe / and so was he to me.

Wife's Preamble, D, § 1, 817-825. Ellesmere MS, p. 190; Six-Text, p. 357. See, too, l. 1230-8 on the like state of things.

The same weak, sensitive, look-on-the-worst side kind of man¹ is shown in his *Complaint* and his *Dialog* with his friend in the Durham MS, below, p. 94-139. And when quite old, Hoccleve is still too vain—proud, he calls it, 51/56-8—to wear spectacles, tho he is losing his sight, and injures it by not using glasses (*ibid.* p. 59-63).

But he has the merit of recognizing his weakness, his folly, and his cowardice. He makes up for these by his sentimental love of the Virgin Mary, his genuine admiration for Chaucer, his denunciation of the extravagant fashions in dress, the neglect of old soldiers, &c.² We wish he had been a better poet and a manlier fellow; but all of those who've made fools of themselves, more or less, in their youth, will feel for the poor old versifier. If he was willing to make amends for his own faults by burning Oldcastle and heretics, and uttering moral precepts, we Radicals and Teetotallers are willing to provide a painless lethal chamber for Lordly and other Tories, and drink-suppliers—after the manner of lost dogs,—and to provide a like

¹ Still, Hoccleve has an occasional touch of humour, as when he says in *De Regimine*,—p. 54, st. 213, Harl. 4866, lf. 27 bk.,—that *Nemo* is the patron who helps his fellows; no one else does:—

“But how ben þi felawes lokyd to 1485

At homé? ben not thei wele¹ benefised?”

“ȝis, fader, ȝis; þer is on clept *Nemo*,
He helpeth hem; by hym ben² þei chericed.

Nere he, þey weren porely chevyced; 1489

He hem auanceth; he fully³ hir frende is;

Sauf only hym, þey han but fewe frendes.” 1491

His Roundel to Lady Money in the Ashburnham MS is also humorous; and so is his quiz of his “lady” in the same MS, which Mr. Gollancz kindly lets me print:

“Of my lady, wel me reioise I may: }
Hir golden forheed is ful narw & smal, }
Hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral; }
And as the leet / hir yen glistren ay. 4 }
Hir bowgy cheekes been as softe as clay } Of my lady, &c.
With large lowes and substancial }
Hir nose / a pentice is, þat it ne shal }
Reyne in hir mowth / thogh shee vp-rightes lay. 8 } Of &c.
Hir mowth is nothyng scant / with lippes gray; }
Hir chin vnnethe / may be seen at al; }
Hir comly body / shape as a foot-bal; } Of &c.
And shee syngith / ful lyke a PapeIay. 12 }

“Item: She hath a sweet mouth,” as is said of Launce's milkmaid in *The Two Gentlemen*, III. i. 320 (Cambr. ed. 1). ² Above, p. xxix n.

¹ Harl. hoom ben þey not wel. ² Harl. omits “ben.” ³ fully Reg., ful Harl.

§ 4. *Some of Hoccleve's Poems. His "Mother of God."* xxxix

serene end for sweaters and anti-Home-Rulers. The mere idea of the thing makes one feel virtuous. There's a good deal of human nature in man. So we'll not throw stones at old Hoccleve.

§ 4. *Comments on some of Hoccleve's poems.* Setting aside the biographical poems, the most interesting question about the others is, did he write *The Mother of God* (p. 52-6 below), which, on the strength of two untrustworthy Scotch MSS, some of us at one time attributed to Chaucer? When I did so, I hadn't seen the Phillippe MS, in which this poem appears in Hoccleve's own hand among the other pieces—undoubtedly his—in the MS. Nor did I then feel the importance of the false ryme in the poem 54/64-6, the verb *honoure* being spelt *honure*, and made to ryme with *cure*,—a ryme which at once caused the German critics to declare that the poem was not Chaucer's. But as soon as I took up the Phillippe MS in Hoccleve's own hand, and then found the two other instances of this -our -ure ryme in its Oldcastle poem—to *honure*, wole *endure*, 15/222-4, and *peynture*, *honure* (vb. infin.), *figure*, *creature* 21/410-15, and afterwards, two instances in *De Regimine*—*honoure* (vb. imper.), *scripture*, *creature* 21/569-72; *dishonour*[e] (3 pl. pres.), *cure*, *endure* 85/2368-71, and one in the Durham MS, *pure* adj. *honure* vb. inf. 179/27-8,¹—I gladly gave up the poem as Chaucer's, and accepted it as Hoccleve's.² It was a relief in this way, that the *Mother of God* had no mark or seal of Chaucer on it,³ and didn't fit properly into the time-order of his works; it had to be stuff in somewhere, so long as it was supposed genuine. On the other hand it seemd too good for Hoccleve, judgd by Wright's print of *De Regimine*, which he took from a second-rate complete MS (Reg. 17 D 6), instead of the better, tho still faulty Harleian 4866, which has

¹ There is at least one more—*scripture*, to *honure*—in the Ashburnham Hoccleve MS, in the first stanza of the "Fabula" of the "De beata Virgine," made at the instance of T. Marleburgh. The MS has not its leaves numbered.

² Inside lines he sometimes spells the noun *honour* 24/504, 126/577, 135/821 &c., and the adjective *honorable* 17/275, 128/632, &c. Hoccleve of course found *honur*, *honurer* in Old French, and no doubt often wrote them so himself in the French documents he copied. He has this line in the Ashburnham MS: "Honur hire / if thou wilt honoured be."

³ The Virgin's *teats* too, in 54/72, didn't look like Chaucer's good taste. Her *praps* appear again in Hoccleve, in 47/112.

xl § 4. *Hoccleve copies Chaucer. His Forms and Metre.*

lost its first leaf¹ and its last. But Hoccleve's poems to the Virgin—poor tho they be—are, I think, better than his other productions, and in the *Mother of God* he undoubtedly did his best.

As the student reads Hoccleve, he will hear many echoes of Chaucer, and uses of his words and phrases.² But there is a phrase in *De Regimine* that I don't recollect having seen earlier, the original of our "I told you so!" When the Old Beggar has spent all his coin, the folk who used to flatter and give-in to him, turn on him:—

st. 103, p. 26; Harl. 4866, lf. 13 bk.
Now seyn þey þus, "I wistē wel alway 715
þat him destroyē wolde his fool largesse;
I tolde hym so; and euer he seyde, nay."
And ȝit they lyen al, [a]s God me blesse . . . [MS also] 718

I also suppose Hoccleve to be the first user of "know what's what" (138/778, below).³

Perhaps the oddest word that Hoccleve uses is *delauee*, Fr. *délavé*, 172/901. He repeats it in the Ashburnham MS, "Becam I of my body delauee," in the Answer of Lady Money to Hoccleve. The Virgin is the "*feynter* of wo & stryf," 52/12; "without authority" is "*vnhad* auctoritie," 115/135; "a coin-clypper" may appear first in 112/66, and 'kerfe' *sb.* in 185/203. A look thro the Glossary will show a few other unusual words; ordinarily Hoccleve is commonplace.

Of the *Double vowel for length*, Hoccleve is fond, but is not constant to it. On p. 50, l. 25 he has *haast*, in l. 37 *hast*. He has *aart*, *paart* 13/150-2; *paart* 3/104, *aart* 14/196, but *part*, *art* 3/111-12, *art* n. 126/565; *art* vb. 45/75, 46/88, 61/11; *darst* 44/40, *dar* 45/48; *haast* (*hast*) 7/225, 8/7, 9/31, 11/107, 14/200, 50/25, 125/539, 130/670, 131/699, 237/20, &c.; but *hast* 4/123, 47/115,

¹ I expect that the first leaf had an illumination of Hoccleve presenting his MS to the Prince of Wales, and that "Somme Furyows Foole Have Cutt the same" leaf off, as a later hand says of the cut-away portrait of Chaucer on leaf 139 of Harl. MS 4826.

² See 6/204, 26/22, 30/159, 37/380, 40/37, 43/18, 67/20, &c., &c.

³ Isn't Chaucer the first user of "Why" for "Well then"?

"What eyleth yow / to grucche thus and grone?
Is it for ye wolde haue my queynte allone?
Wy! taak it al / lo, haue it euery deel!
Peter, I shrewe yow / but ye loue it weel."

Wife of Bath's Preamble, D, § 1, l. 443-5. Ellesmere MS, p. 179, Six-Text, p. 346.

50/37, 71/122; *haaste* vb. i., 129/646; *huath* 126/557, &c. (but *hath* 8/244, 11/97, 103, 24/508, 65/15-17, 126/570); *maad* 72/151, 130/683, 685, 693; 139/107, &c. (but *made* 56/140, 133/770, 138/59); *tautid* (tasted) 123/485; *tuaste* n. (taste) 7/214, vb. 29/123, *uar* 11/88, 36/351, 129/652, &c.; but *Bewar* 14/193, 130/680; *vnwar* 26/41; *waast* (waste) n. 36/371.

ee: *Eeues* (Eve's) 132/722; *cheertee* 48/32, 58/20, 62/7; *eerly* 31/180, 62/21; *forgeete* 68/29; *reedy* (ready) 66/41; *seelden* 30/165; *attempree* 40/13; *beeth* (be ye) 55/127, 58/18; *eerthely* 17/292-7; *eerthe* 55/90; *bleew* 144/240; *kneew* 45/50, 140/128; *kneewen* 31/196; *reeve* 12/131, 38/412, 121/414-15, 141/152; *threew* 140/132; *treeve* 33/273, 34/277, 125/540, 127/598, 134/798, 137/48, 139/92, (but *trewe* 13/163); *treewely* 121/433, 141/158. Other *u* s are: *Reule* vb. 66/66, n. 39/8; *seur* (sure) 35/320, 48/14, 61/7; *Due* adj. 39/440, 61/13; *pured* 44/36.

oo: *dooth* imper. 42/32, 43/55; *fourth* 2/60, 27/78, 41/15; *hoolly* 3/112, &c.

ou: *doumb* 38/433; *souffyse* 46/100, *souffissance* 51/70; *souffre* 34/288, 40/23, 30; *souffred* 68/51, (but *suffre* 30/151); *souffrilit* 54/58, but *soffraunce* 109/384. For *high*, he has *hyly* adv. 68/49, on *hy* 1/46, *hy* adj. 39/3, 48/42.

Hoccleve's metre is poor. So long as he can count ten syllables by his fingers, he is content. He rightly apologises in 50/48 for his "Meetrynge amis," and in 57/12-13 for "how vnconnyngly My book is metrid." He constantly thwarts the natural run of his line by putting stress on a word that shouldn't bear it, or using a strong syllable as a weak one—as Browning also often does:

Duely in his conceitès balaunce 131/601,
Ful many á man / for to taken heede 131/605,
Now, good freend / shoue at thé cart, I yow praye 132/617,
Right so / let it be bý wrytynge amendid 135/700.

He turns the pronoun *hirē* her, into two syllables:

40/24, In preiudice of hire (not "to hire") by no way,
141/53, he hirē yaf wordēs confortatyf,
143/97, he stired hirē / whan he fond hir soul [above].

Hoccleve often breaks a measure awkwardly with his pause, as in

xlii § 4. *Hoccleve's Metrical Pause, and e before a Vowel.*

"Wiste I what / good freend / tell on what is best" 129/552.

"Or thow auysed be wel / and wel knowe" 133/648.

"Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him breke" 133/654.

"Thou woost wel / on wommen greet wyt & lak" 134/667.

He not only lets the metrical pause stop the cutting-off of a final *e* before a vowel or an *h*, but he keeps the *e* also in other parts of the line:

Wolde god, by my speechē and my sawe 67/21,
 To helthē him profytē / ne god qweeme 9/40,
 þat he were of / nat sholdē hardy be 14/189,
 From thyn Hynessē haue a tokne or tweye 38/419,
 Of giltes allē haue an excellence 45/61,
 For our behouē han so mochil wroght 46/98,
 And werre makē, & sharp résistence 26/51,
 And thus to crauē / artith me my neede 39/438,
 Shameth to wernē / as þat I byleeue 39/442,
 With his mowth madē / and off his noblesse 56/130,
 O ground and rootē of prosperitee 25/2,
 The hopē of myn exaudicioun 44/30,
 It for to seruē in his cleer brightnesse 18/308,
 So mochē is a popes auctoritee 18/315 (I So / moche is /),
 How þat his gournancē is despysid 33/275,
 The gretter needē hath it of his cure 45/67,
 So largelichē opned is thy syde 3/88,
 If he take heedē vnto the scripture 32/235,
 Or take my way / for ferē into France 139/823.

Of the eighteen poems in the Phillipps MS, George Mason printed the six autobiographic ones in 1796: "Poems by Thomas Hoccleve, never before printed: selected from a MS in the possession of George Mason," &c. They are, (1) p. 15, the "Balade to the Lord Chancellor" (p. 58 below); (2) p. 27, "La Male Regle" (p. 25 below); (3) p. 59, the "Balade and Roundel to Somer" (p. 59-60 below); (4) p. 65, the "Balade to Sir Hy. Somer" (p. 64 below); (5) p. 71, the Balade "Au Roy" (Henry V, p. 62 below); (6) p. 73, the "Balade to my maister Carpenter" (p. 63 below), whom Mason made the Bp. of Worcester, or the Rev. John Carpenter who was afterwards Bp. of Worcester, but whom I make the more probable John Carpenter, the well-known town-clerk and benefactor of London, whose charitable bequest, after having been mainly guzzled or misapplied by the City

Corporation for centuries, was in part used to found the City of London School in 1833.

In 1602 Speght printed, in his second edition of Chaucer's Works, p. 424, Hoccleve's Balade to Henry V and the Knights of the Garter, p. 41 below, under the title of "To the Kings most noble Grace, and to the Lords and Knights of the Garter." It was reprinted in 1687, and by Urry, &c.

In 1614, as noted above, p. xxiv, the poet William Browne reprinted Hoccleve's second *Gesta* story of Fortunatus (p. 214, &c., below) in the first Eglogue of his *Shepheards Pipe*, and W. C. Hazlitt reprinted it in his edition of Browne's Works (Roxburgh Library), ii. 178-196.

Next, about 1625, the Rev. Richard James, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Chr. Coll., Oxford, copied and annotated Hoccleve's Remonstrance with Oldcastle, p. 8 below, and evidently meant to publish it: see "The Legend and Defence of y^e Noble Knight and Martyr Sir John Oldcastel" in the James MS 34, in the Bodleian, or the Grenville MS 35 in the British Museum. This copy by James—which had mistakes—Dr. Grosart printed, with James's notes and Dedication to Lord Bouchier,¹ in his "Poems &c of Richard James B.D." 1880. Then in 1882 Miss L. T. Smith edited Hoccleve's poem from the Phillipps MS, in *Anglia*, vol. 5, with only three mistakes in the text that need be noted—*notist* for *noyce*, and *lore* for *lore*, st. 27, lines 4 and 6; *might* for *naght* in st. 36, line 7—and one in the Latin sidenote to st. 24: she left out "*vel militaris*" after "*Clericus*." Next to *La Male Regle*, readers will probably be most interested in "The Court of good Company's balade to Sir Hy. Somer," p. 64.

In 1801 Dr. John Leyden printed Hoccleve's *Mother of God*, p. 52-6 below, as Chaucer's, in his edition of the *Complaynt of Scot-*

¹ The Dedication is well known for its defence of Sir John Falstaffe, and its condemnation of Shakspeare's "ignorant shilte of abusing Sir Jhon" by substituting him for Oldcastle whom he had first put into 1 *Henry IV*, because Oldcastle's descendants objected to it. So in the Epilog to 2 *Henry IV*, Shakspeare wrote that he would "continue the Story . . . where Falstaffe shall dye of a sweat . . . For Old-Castle dyed a Martyr, and this is not the man."—See *The Centurie of Praice*, N. Sh. Soc., p. 164-5, 268-9.

land,¹ from John of Ireland's MS in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The poem was also printed from Leyden, as Chaucer's, in the First Series of *Notes & Queries*, vol. xii, p. 140-1, Aug. 25, 1855, and by Dr. R. Morris in his Aldine edition of *Chaucer's Poetical Works*, 1866, at the end of vol. vi, from the Bodleian MS Selden B 24. Lastly (woe is me!) I printed it in 1878 from its only three known MSS in the Chaucer Society's Parallel-Texts of the Minor Poems, no. LVII, and separately, in 1880, from the Phillipps MS in no. LXI, "A One-Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems," Part II. Dr. Murray read the copy with the MS for me. The other ten Poems of the Phillipps MS appear for the first time in the present edition.

For the text of "The Letter of Cupid," 1402, p. 72, I must apologize. I forgot to look at my old notes of 1871 for the MSS of it, and used my Fairfax copy without testing it by Shirley's and other MSS. Then I had it collated with these, and Prof. Skeat toucht up the final *e*'s; but still many parts of the text were unsatisfactory, and the stanzas seemd in wrong order. Comparison with Christine de Pisan's original—of which Hoccleve's poem is but an adaptation with changes (see Notes below, p. 243), and to which our good friend Prof. Paul Meyer referd me—showd that the Fairfax man (or an earlier transcriber) had copied from a MS of which the leaves had been shuffled like a pack of cards; and last came Hoccleve's autograph MS of the poem, which Lord Ashburnham has kindly lent to our friend Mr. Israel Gollancz, who will edit it for us. This set the stanzas in right order, and improved the text, tho Mr. Gollancz's edition of it will be better, and of course the standard text.

The Durham MS I first saw in 1871 (?), on my fruitless journey north to try and see Mr. Bowes's Midland MS of Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, a MS which has never been heard of since it was in the late J. O. Halliwell's hands for use in his Glossary.² Out of this Durham MS some other "Furiows Foole" (p. xl n. above) has torn out the first two sheets, *a* and *b* in eights, and the good old tailor-antiquary, John Stowe, has copied a poor text in, on ten leaves of paper. The vellum part, *c*—*m* in eights, n 1—3 (p. 115 below,

¹ E. E. T. Soc., Extra Series, 8, re-edited by Dr. J. A. H. Murray.

² He told me that he borrowd it of, and returnd it to, Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

§ 4. Hoccle's "*Gesta Romanorum*" Stories, and "*Lerne to Dye*." xlv

to the end) is in Hoccleve's hand, and has on the last page his dedication to the Lady Westmorland, followed by his signature: see the Facsimile, with all the later scribbles on it.

On the pathos of the poor sensitive old poet's sufferings under the coldness and suspicions of his former friends, after his madness, I have already remarkt. The best parts of the Durham volume are Hoccleve's englishings of the two stories from the *Gesta Romanorum*. The reader will find prose versions of them in the Society's edition by Mr. S. J. Herbage (Extra Series, 1879, no. 33), at pages 311-22 (Merelaus, as Jereslaus is there call'd) and 180-96, the latter from Addit. MS 9066, as well as Shirley's Harleian 7333, copied by Impingham. The Emperor is there call'd Godfridus. The Latin originals are in Oesterley's 1872 edition of the *Gesta*,—the Wife of the Emperor (or King) Octavianus and her scoundrel brother-in-law, at p. 648-654, cap. 249, app. 53; the Magic Ring, Brooch and Cloth, at p. 466—470, cap. 120 (112), *De mulierum subtili deceptione*. The king's name is Darius; the third son's, Jonathas; the "*Puella ejus concubina*"—"puella satis formosa"—is unnamed. Hoccleve's englishings and those of the prose *Gesta* should be read together. The whole English *Gesta* was of course printed by the Roxburghe Club in 1838, Sir F. Madden editing; and I printed the prose *Merelaus* for the Chaucer Society in 1872, no. 7 of its Second Series, Part I of the "Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," p. 55-70, in illustration of the Man of Law's Tale of Constance. Of Magic Rings and Gems, Mr. Clouston has an interesting account in my edition of John Lane's "Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale," p. 271, 334-347, 464, and of Magic Carpets at p. 294 (Chaucer Society, 2nd Series, 1890).

Tho I've lookt thro the Index *De Morte* (besides others) in Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus*, as well as the Brit. Mus. Class Catalog of MSS about Death, I have fail'd to find the original of Hoccleve's *Lerne to Dye*. It was, however, that of a prose version (ab. 1430-40) in the Lichfield Cathedral MS 16, which I saw years ago, and which Miss Rosa Elverson has copied out for us. This version is there attributed to St. Anselm (among whose works I can't see it), and is headed "*tractatus qui scitte mori appellatur*." It begins "*Sybbe al*

maner men desireth by kynde to haue konnyng & knewliche on þe hyȝe and euerlastyng wysdom," and gives Hoccleve's fourth stanza (p. 179) thus: "First, y schal teche how þou schuldest deye; and aftirward how þou schuldest lyue; and after þat how þou schuldest receyue me by sacrement; And at þe last, how þou schuldest preysy me bysyli with a clene mynd."

Miss Elverson will edit this prose version for the Society, together with the best known englishing (from the French) of the Latin *Scite Mori*,¹ by John Gerson, properly Jean Charlier, born at Gerson. This is Caxton's "The Art & Crafte to knowe well to dye"—"translated oute of Frenashe into Englyashe by Will^m Caxton," London, 1490, folio, 13 leaves. Gerson was a contemporary of Hoccleve's, was born in 1363, and died on July 12, 1429, and "is mainly remembered in connection with his efforts to bring about a cessation of the great schism which had divided the (Roman Catholic) church since 1378. His proposal was to depose both the rival popes, and elect a third in their room—a step which was taken by the council held at Pisa in 1409, of which Gerson was a member as deputy of the University of Paris. . . In 1419 he returned to his native country, and spent the last ten years of his life with his brother, the prior of a community of Celestine monks at Lyons, living an ascetic life, and devoting himself to religious meditation and the composition of theological and other treatises."—Blackie's *Cyclopædia*.

In the 1502 edition, printed by Hermann at Cologne, Gerson's tract takes up only 2½ pages, and begins:

¶ Johannes Gerson de Scientia bone mortis. Si veraces fidelesque amici cuiuspiam egroti curam diligentius agant, pro ipsius vita corporali fragili & defectibili conseruanda, exigunt a nobis multo fortius deus & caritas pro salute sua spiritali sollicitudinez gerere spirituales. In hac enim extrema mortis necessitate, fidelis probatur amicus . . .

¶ Prima pars continet quatuor exhortationes. ¶ Prima exhortatio est, "Amice dilecte aut dilecta, considera nos omnes subiectos esse potenti manu dei, & ipsius voluntati omnes nos, cuiuscunque conditionis aut status, reges, principes, aut diuites & pauperes, mortis tributum soluere necesse est . . . [end of Part 4] Hinc expediens videtur, vt in quibuslibet pauperum hospitalibus vel domibus dei statuto firmaretur, ne quis ibidem eger suscipi posset, qui non primo ingressus die confessionem faceret, vel ydoneo sacerdoti ad hoc ipsum

¹ The Addit. MS 15, 105 in the Brit. Mus. is: "Tractatulus vtilissimus de arte bene moriendi, doctoris Iacobi Carthusiensium prope Staffordiam, Incipit: 'Omnes morimur, et quasi aqua dilabimur in terram.'"

deputato, paratus confiteri se continuo penitaret, sicut in domo dei Parisiensi laudabiliter observatur &c. Finit.

§ 5. The writing of these Forewords takes me back nearly ten years, to the time when the Phillipps MS was copied, the autumn of 1882. After a visit to my fellow-Shakspeare-editor, Mr. W. G. Stone, at his peaceful home at Walditch near Bridport, I went across to work at MSS at Cheltenham, and to stop with the family of a young-lady lover of Shakspeare and Browning, who had been helpt by my Introduction to the Leopold Shakspeare and had written to me. Daily, after my work at the Hoccleve and Chaucer MSS in the Phillipps collection at Thirlestaine House, my gifted and sweet-sould young friend took me for one of the pretty walks round the town, sometimes through level meads, sometimes through Lackington churchyard, or by other paths to the Cotswold Hills,¹ talking of the writers and people she honourd, telling me of her Indian life, her work at Cheltenham College, and in the evening singing me favourite songs, such as I named in my Forewords to the "Earliest English Wills" (E. E. T. Soc., 1882, no. 78), last page. A pleasant time it was; and little did I then think that the happy and brilliant future which I lookt forward to for my young friend would be so soon ended by her sad burning, and her death a week after, on Sept. 4, 1883. The pain of that has now past, and the pleasure of the friendship remains. It mingles in my mind with the delightful summer Saturday afternoons and Sundays² last season on the river, when we dined on the bank opposite Hampton Court and teaced on Tatham's island—we, learned friends,³ gentle women, nice girls, and darling children, with their pretty ways and eager "Oh, Doctor,

¹ On one walk there, during a later short visit, the local hunt came on to the Hills; and very pretty it was to see the hounds searching the undergrowth while the red-coats watcht them, but no fox turnd out to give them a run.

² How different it was yesterday, in our narrow sculling-four!—dull sky, bare banks, hardly a boat to be seen; no fire in the lunch-room at Eelpie Island, keen cold wind for our run and walk on the bank, and dead against us all the way down. But still enjoyable, and the spurt enlivening.

³ And—talk of golden garters!—did not one man famous for folk-lore, fairies, philosophy, Hebrew, and all sorts of other things, sheen in the sunlight, when he peeld to scull bow down-stream, and disclosed to our astonisht eyes, a cream silk shirt! Could luxury further go!

I can pull *two* now. You come and see me! Mother, you come too!" "May we children have the boat *all* to ourselves? None of you grown-ups. *We* can manage her, &c. &c." Bless em all! I find life worth living. Don't you? Specially when you have an old randan and can tow and scull. (Don't mention the washing-up after picnic meals.) Well, the Phillipps copy was set, and ought to have been issued in 1883; but I kept it back till I could complete, or get completed, the copy of part of the Durham MS which some good friend had transcribed for me years before. At last, after borrowing the MS twice, by forbearing Mr. Fowler's indulgence, this was managed. And here the Text at last is, as the foregoer, I trust, of Mr. Gollancz's edition of the Ashburnham Minor Poems, and a Text of *The Regement of Princes*, when I can find out the best MS of it.¹ If any one will volunteer for the editing of this poem, it shall be committed to his charge, for I haven't time for it. Still, if no one else will do it, I will. My Circular proposing the "Lydgate and Occleve Society" (in Ellesmere MS, Pt. IV) is dated 14 March, 1872, and says, "From the amount of work before the Early English Text Society, it is clear that they cannot hope to print Lydgate's and Occleve's Works for something like 20 years, though these works are wanted by students at once. . . I can do Occleve's;" and I promist that the first MS printed of him should be the Durham one of the *Complaint*, &c., printed below. But not half of the 150 men I wanted for a start, agreed to join, and so the Society never was. Still, 1892 sees a book by Lydgate and one by Hoccleve issued by the Early English Text Society, and others will follow. I feel bound to try and see Hoccleve cleared, and Lydgate well started, before I die.

I say thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Smith—who have long since returned to India,—to Mr. Fenwick of Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, Mr. Fowler of Bp. Hatfield's Hall, Durham, to Norroy,

¹ Mr. A. B. Rogers at Cambridge, and Miss A. F. Parker at Oxford, have examined for the Society all the *Regement* MSS with our facsimile page in the present volume, to see if any has Hoccleve's most frequent *w*, and they have copied from every MS the three Chaucer stanzas p. xxxii-iii above, "The firste finder of our faire langage," &c., as a sample of each. We can thus tell which are best worth collating further, if no autograph MS is hereafter found.

§ 5. *Thanks to Helpers. P.S. Are the MSS. autograph.* xlix

Mr. Horace Round, Prof. Skeat (for looking after the final *es*, &c.), Mr. R. G. Kirk, and all other helpers, including our collators Mr. Rogers and Miss Parker, and Mr. Thomas Austin, who cut down the Oxford collations to the *Cupid*, and has made the Index and Glossary.

*British Museum, Monday, 29 Feb. 1892,
7.30 p.m., under the electric light.*

P.S. 28 July 1892. After seeing how many carelessnesses there are in the three MSS I have put down as Hoccleve's autograph ones, I am obliged to doubt his having written them; and I take refuge in the conclusion that the larger writing of these MSS is more probably that of his clerk John Welde, or some like man, and that the closer writing of his Dedication to Lady Westmorland, at the foot of the facsimile, is alone in Hoccleve's own hand.



APPENDIX OF HOCCLEVE DOCUMENTS,

COPIED FROM THE RECORD OFFICE
BY MR. R. E. G. KIRK.

I.

12 Nov. 1399. Grant of £10 a year to Hoccleve for life, or until he gets a benefice of £20 a year.

[Patent Roll, 1 Hen. IV., part 2, membrane 21.]

Pro Thoma Hoccleue.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili seruicio quod dilectus seruienti noster, Thomas Hoccleue, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto impendit, et impendet infuturum, concessimus eidem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones, ad terminum vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos fuerit promotus. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xij die Nouembris.

*Per breue de priuato sigillo.*¹

For the good service of Thos. Hoccleue, one of our Priuy-Seal clerks,

We (Henry IV) have granted him

£10 a year

for his life, or until we promote him to an ecclesiastical benefice (without cure of souls) worth £20 a year. 12 Nov. 1399.

¹ 1399. The Pells Issue Roll for Michaelmas 1 Henry IV., 1399, has no mention of Hoccleue.

1400. Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Henry IV. This roll does not contain any payment to Hoccleue.

On membranes 3 and 10, and at the end, there are payments to Richard Clifford, Clerk, *Keeper of the Priuy Seal*, at the rate of 20s. a day, for his wages (*vadiis*). It is also stated, on m. 1, that King Richard II. owed him £200.

Richard Clifford, Clerk, *Junior*, was Keeper of the Wardrobe of Isabella, late Queen of England; 5 August.

On m. 6 there is a payment to Geoffrey Chaucer of part of the annuity of £20 granted him by Ric. II., and confirmed by Henry IV. This is printed by Sir Harris Nicolas: see *Chaucer's Poet. Works*, ed. Morris, 1866, i. 107.

II.

13 Dec. 1400. First Payment to Hoccleve of £8 15s. 3d., being so much of his £10 Annuity, granted on Nov. 12, 1399, as was due at Michs. 1400.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 2 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xiiij^o die Decembris.

To Thos. Hoccleve, to whom, on 12 Nov. 1399, Hen. IV. granted £10 a year

for his good service,—
in money paid
by assignment,

for the time from
12 Nov. 1399 to

Michs. 1400.

£8. 15s. 3d.

Thome Hoccleus, cui Dominus Rex nunc, xij^o die Nouembris proximo preterito,¹ x. li. annuas, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono servicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis, per assignacionem factam² isto die, in persolucionem viij. li. xv. s. iij. d. sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, tam pro rata a predicto xij^o die Nouembris, vsque vltimum diem Marcij tunc proximum sequentem, per [blank] dies, vltimo die et non primo computato, quam pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per brevis suum de liberate hoc termino. . . . viij. li. xv. s. iij. d.³

III.

29 Nov. 1401.
£5 to Michs.

Michs. 3 Henry IV., 1401. This Roll contains a payment for the half year of 100s. on Tuesday, 29 November; m. 11.

¹ That is, "last past" before Michaelmas day.

² "*assignatio facta*;" ab. 1400-24. In later times the word "assignment" was used in the Exchequer in two senses—first, as an assignment on a particular fund or branch of the revenue; secondly, as an assignment or transfer of an annuity by the grantee to some other person; but the former seems to be the meaning in the entries relating to Hoccleve. Almost the last entry I found, throws light on this point: it states that Hoccleve had an assignment for the larger portion of his annuity, and that only a small sum was paid to him "*in money*." So that when he was paid "*by assignment*," which was not always the case, he may not have received the amounts on the days specified in the rolls, if the revenues on which he had his assignments had not come in; but there are no records which would help to elucidate this question. It is probable however that the assignment would not be made till the revenues were actually in hand.

³ There is a duplicate of this roll; but the roll for Easter, 2 Hen. IV., 1401, is wanting, and there is no Auditors' or Tellers' Roll for that term.

IV. a.

26 April, 1402. Payment to Hoccleve of £5, his half-year's Annuity to Easter, 1402.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Henry IV.]

Die Mercurii, xxvj. die Aprilis.

Thome Hoccleue, clerico, cui Dominus Rex nunc x li. annuus ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono servicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, per assignacionem factam isto die, in persolucionem C. s. sibi liberandorum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito per breue suum etc. C. s.

Thomas Hoccleue.
To whom Henry IV. granted £10 a year for his life:—

In money paid to him

to Easter 1402, £5.

IV. b.

In the next roll, Micha. 4 Henry IV., 1402, there is a payment to Thomas Occlive of 4^l. 18^s. 9^d., part of 100^s., on Thursday, 7 December. (It is not stated why he was mulcted in 1^l. 3^d.)¹

7 Dec. 1402.
24 18s. 9d.
to Micha. 1402.

V.

15 Oct. 1403. Payment to Hoccleve of £9, his year's Annuity, less £1 which he gives up to get the £9.

[Pells Issue Roll, Micha. 5 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xv^o die Octobris.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio priuati sigilli, cui Dominus Rex nunc x. li. annuas, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percipiendas, pro bono servicio per ipsum de longo tempore in officio predicto impenso et impendendo, vel quousque idem Thomas ad beneficium ecclesiasticum sine cura valoris xx. li. annuarum fuerit promotus, per literas suas patentes concessit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x. li. sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro terminis Pasche et

Thomas Hoccleue.
To whom (as a Privy-Seal clerk) Hen. IV. granted £10 a year for his life (for his long services in the Privy-Seal Office) till he should get a benefice of £20 a year without cure of souls,—in money paid to him for and to Easter

¹ The roll for Easter, 4 Hen. IV., 1403, does not contain any payment to Hoccleve, who seems to have allowed it to get in arrears. The Auditors' and Tellers' Rolls do not help. See next entry.

and Michaelmas
1405,
less 20s. which
he gives up to
the King
in order to get the
remaining £9,—
£9.

Sancti Michaelis ultimo preteritis, deductis vero xx. s. quos dictus Thomas, de sua mera et spontanea voluntate, remisit et relaxavit dicto Domino Regi, pro solucione habenda de ix. li. residuis, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . ix. li.

VI.

6 March 1404.
£5 in advance,
due at Easter.

On the same Roll, under date of Thursday, 6 March [1404], there is another payment of 100^s. to Thomas Occlyve for the Easter term *following*; i. e. in advance.¹

VII.

26 March 1406.
£5 to Micha. 1405.

The roll for Michaelmas, 7 Henry IV., 1405, contains the usual payment of 100^s. to "Thomas Occlyff", Clerk," on Friday, 26 March 1406.

VIII.

13 May 1406.
£5 to Easter.

The roll for Easter, 7 Henry IV., 1406, also contains the usual entry for the half-yearly payment of Hoccleve's 100^s to Easter 1406, on Thursday, 13 May.

¹ The roll for Easter is wanting, but probably contained no payment to Hoccleve.

In the Auditors' Issue Roll, Easter, 5 Hen. IV., A.D. 1404, there are two payments to . . . Blith, "pergamenarius" of Lincoln, for parchment bought of him "*tam pro officio priuati sigilli [et] duorum Rememoratorum de Scaccario quam pro Recepta eiusdem.*"

(In the roll for Easter, 12 Ric. II., these offices are described thus: "*tam pro expensis officij de priuato sigillo Regis quam duorum Rememoratorum de Scaccario et pro Recepta eiusdem Scaccarij.*")

John Burgh, who is mentioned in a subsequent payment to Hoccleve, is here described as "one of the Clerks of the Receipt" [of the Exchequer], and as having an annuity of £20 by grant of Richard II., confirmed by Henry IV. This roll is very much decayed and damaged, and, as expected, there is no payment to Hoccleve, but there is a similar payment to some one else, whose name is lost, under a grant of Ric. II. There are no Tellers' Rolls for Easter or Trinity.

The three sets of rolls for Michaelmas, 6 Henry IV., 1404, and Easter, 6 Henry IV., 1405, contain no payments to Hoccleve. (Could he not get, or did he forego, payment?)

In the Michaelmas roll there is a note that Thomas, Lord of Furnyvall, the Lord Treasurer, "began in the second part" of this term; his first date being 13th December. In the Easter roll, Thomas Langley, clerk, Keeper of the Privy Seal, is entered as receiving 20s. a day, as other Keepers had done before him, "until order should be taken for his continual dwelling within the King's household"; but on 1st March he was "exonerated" from the office. John Wisbech, his clerk, is mentioned in the Tellers' Roll.

IX.

14 Aug. 1406. Payment to Hoccleve of
£3 — 8*d.* for parchment, ink, & red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Henry IV.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij. die Augusti.

Thome Occlius, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in *persolucionem* lx. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit pro pergamento, incausto, [et] cera rubea, de diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus dicti Domini Regis emptis, in officio predicto; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . lx. s. viij. d.

To Thos. Hoccleve, Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office,

for parchment, ink & red wax, bought for the Office,

£3. — 8*d.*

X.

The Auditors' Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 8 Henry IV., 1406, contains no payment to Hoccleve; but the Tellers' Roll has the following note: "Thome Occl[e] [sic], de x. li. annuis, per manus proprias, C. s."

. . . 1406
£25 to Micha. 1406.

XI.

The Roll next quoted contains the usual payment of Hoccleve's 100*s.* half-yearly, on Saturday, 12 June.

12 June 1407.
£25 to Easter.

XII.

15 July 1407. Payment to Hoccleve of
£3 6*s.* 8*d.* out of £7 9*s.* 10½*d.* due to him for parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 8 Henry IV.]

Die Veneris xv. die Julij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in partem solucionis vij li. ix*s.* x*d.* ob. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit, pro pergamento, incausto, cera rubea, de diuersis personis per ipsum ad opus Regis emptis, et in dicto officio a xxvij^o die Marcij anno vij^o Regis huius hucusque expenditis, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino lxvj. s. viij. d.

Thomas Hoccleue.

To him, a Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office, in part payment of £7 9*s.* 10½*d.* for parchment, ink, and red wax, from March 27, 1406 to July 15, 1407,
£3 6*s.* 8*d.*

XIII.

16 Jan. 1408. Payment to Hoccleve of £4 3s. 2½*d.* on account for 16 months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Auditors' Issue Roll, Michs. 9 Hen. IV.]

Tuesday, 16 Jan. 1408.

24 3s. 2½*d.*
for parchment,
from 27 March
1406 to 12 July
1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occeleve, clerk," of 4*l.* 3*s.* 2½*d.* (part of a larger sum of 7*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.*) for parchment, ink, and red wax, from 27 March, 7 Hen. IV. (1406) to 12 July, 8 Hen. IV. (1407), by the King's command.

XIV.

4 Feb. 1408.

Saturday, 4 Feb. 1408.

Half-yearly £5
to Michs. 1407.

Payment to "Thomas Occlve, clerk," of 100*s.* for Michaelmas term, by his own hands.¹

XV.

7 July 1408.
£5 to Easter.

Easter, 9 Henry IV., 1408. Saturday, 7 July: To "Thomas Hocclve Clerk," 100*s.*

XVI.

18 Feb. 1408.
£5 to Michs.

Michs. 10 Henry IV., 1408. Wednesday, 13 February, 1409. To Thomas Occliff, 100*s.*

XVII.

17 May 1409. Grant of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a year from Michs. 1408, to Hoccleve, instead of his former yearly £10.

[Patent Roll, 10 Hen. IV., part 2, membrane 24.]

Pro Thoma Hoccleue.

On Nov. 12, 1399,
on account of the
good service of
Thos. Hoccleve,
one of our Privy-
Seal clerks,

we granted him
£10 a year

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Sciatis, quod cum duodecimo die Nouembrie, anno regni nostri primo, de gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono et laudabili seruicio quod dilectus seruiciens noster, Thomas Hoccleue, vnus clericorum nostrorum de officio priuati sigilli nostri, a longo tempore in officio predicto impenderat, et extunc impenderet: concesserimus eidem Thome, in incrementum status sui, decem libras, percipiendas annuatim ad Scaccarium nostrum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti

¹ These were not found on the Pells Issue Roll, which is incomplete.

Appendix. Hoccleve's fresh Pension. Payments in 1409. lvii

Michaelis, per equales porciones, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque ipse ad beneficium ecclesiasticum, sine cura, valoris viginti librarum per annum, per nos foret promotus, prout in literis nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; Nos, de vberiori gracia nostra ac in recompensacionem dicti seruicij sui, pro eo quod idem Thomas, dictas literas nostras in Cancellariam nostram restituit cancellandas, concessimus ei viginti marcas, percipiendas ad dictum Scaccarium nostrum, a festo Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xvij¹ die Maij.

for his life, or till we should promote him to a benefice worth £20 a year.

As Hoccleve has returned this grant to be canceled, we grant him 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) a year, from Michaelmas, 1409.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XVIII.

23 May 1409. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve of £6 13s. 4d. in respect of his fresh annuity of £13 6s. 8d.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Henry IV.]

Die Veneris, xxij^o die Maij.

Thome Occliyue, cui Dominus Rex nunc x.li. [*for xx marcas*] singulis annis, ad Scaccarium ad totam vitam suam, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis et Pasche, per equales porciones percipiendus, pro bono seruicio per ipsum eidem Domino Regi impenso et impendendo, per literas suas patentes concessit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum² sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xij.s. iij.d.²

To Thos. Hoccleve,

In money paid to him,

for his $\frac{1}{2}$ year's annuity to last Easter, 23 13s. 4d.

XIX.

Michs. 11 Hen. IV., 22 Nov. 1409. Thomas Occliff or Occliff (no further description), £6 13s. 4d. The King had granted him *ten pounds* [for 20 marks] a year for life, for his good service, by letters patent. (Master John Prophete is Keeper of the Privy Seal.)

23 Nov. 1409.

23 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas.

¹ xvij is written on an erasure.

² These sums are written on erasures, the amount having probably been originally written "C. s."; but the scribe omitted to alter the "x. li." at the beginning.

XX.

23 June, 1410. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 2s. 2d. for 14 months' ink, wax, and parchment.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 11 Henry IV.]

Die Lune, xxij die Junij.

Thomas Hoccleue.
To him, in money by the hands of Jn. Welde, for ink, parchment, and red wax, from 21 Feb. 1409 to 24 April 1410, £1 2s. 2d.

Thome Hoccleue, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Weld¹, in persolucionem xxij.s. ij.d. quos Dominus Rex sibi liberari mandauit pro incausto, pergamenio, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis et expendendis in officio predicto, videlicet, a xxj^o die Februarij anno x^o, vsque xxiiij^{to} diem Aprilis anno xj^o vltimo preterito, per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xxij.s. ij.d.

XXI.

17 July 1410.
26 13s. 4d. to Easter.

Easter, 11 Hen. IV. Thursday, 17 July. Thomas Hoccliff. The King had granted him 20 marks [13'. 6". 8^d.] a year for life, by letters patent, payable half-yearly. (He is not called Clerk here. There is no payment to him for Michaelmas, 12 Hen. IV., A.D. 1410, either in the Pells or the Auditors' Roll.)

XXII.

8 July 1411.
26 13s. 4d. to Michaelmas 1410.

1411, Easter,² 12 Hen. IV., 8 July. To Thomas Hoccliff (or Hoccliff³), one of the Clerks, &c., 6'. 13". 4^d.

XXIII.

26 Feb. 1412,
21s 6s. 8d., 1 year to Michs. 1411.

Michs. 13 Hen. IV. (1411), 26 Feb. 1412, Friday. To Thomas Occlive (or Occliff), one, &c., 13' 6". 8^d. for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last. This payment is also recorded in the Tellers' Roll for Hilary, 13 Hen. IV.³

¹ John Weld is afterwards described as Hoccleve's clerk. A John Wold or Wolde was keeper of the King's lions and leopards in the Tower of London; Mich., 10 Hen. IV., *et ante*.

² This, tho' call'd an Easter payment, was no doubt for Michs. 1410—see last entry, as the next payment is for the whole year 1411 (see XXVI). If not, Hoccleve was paid twice over for Easter 1411.

³ 1412, Easter, 13 Hen. IV. The Pells Issue Roll is wanting. The Auditors' Issue Roll and the Tellers' Roll are also wanting. 1412, Michs. 14 Hen. IV. No payment found. The Pells Roll seems to be imperfect, the first date being 25 January. There is no Auditors' Roll, but there is a Tellers' Roll for Michaelmas. (*See extract.*)

XXIV.

5 Nov. 1412. Payment to Hoccleve of 32s.
for parchment and ink.

[Tellers' Roll, Michs. 14 Hen. IV.]

Die Saboti, quinto die Nouembris.

[It is somewhat doubtful whether this date applies to the following entry.]

Thome Hoccliffe, *per manus Johannis Weld', pro* To T. Hoccleve
pergameno et incausto emptis in officio Custodis priuati for ink &c.,
sigilli xxxij.s.¹ 32s.

XXV.

28 Sept. 1413. Inspeximus and Confirm-
ation by Henry V. of Hoccleve's Annuity
of £13 6s. 8d., with the arrears from
Michs. 1412.

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry V., part 4, membrane 25.]

De confirmatione—Hoccleue.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus lites We have seen our
patentes carissimi Domini et patris nostri Domini late Father's
Henrici nuper Regis Anglie factas in hec verba. Henricus
Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie
Omnibus ad quos [etc. as in the Patent Roll of 10 grant of £13
Henry IV., 17 May, 1409, p. liv, above] 6s. 8d. a year to
Thos. Hoccleve,

Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, decimo septimo on 17 May 1409;
die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo. Nos autem, de
gracia nostra speciali, et pro bono seruicio nobis per and on account of
prefatum Thomam impenso et impendendo, concessi- Hoccleve's good
onem predictam, ac omnia et singula in literis predictis service to us,
contenta, rata habentes et grata, ea pro nobis et heredi-
bis nostris, quantum in nobis est, acceptamus, approba-
mus, et prefato Thome, tenore presencium, concedimus we approve and
et confirmamus, prout litere predictae rationabiliter tes- confirm to him
tantur. Ita semper quod idem Thomas, pro termino

¹ There is also a payment to Thomas, late Lord of Furnyvall, and Sir John Pelham, late Treasurers of the Wars; also two payments to Walter Lucy for parchment for the Receipt of the Exchequer and the Privy-Seal Office. There is no reference to Hoccleve's annuity. The roll for *Hilary* term following is wanting. It may have been in that. The roll for Easter 1 Henry V., 1413, omits all reference to Hoccleve, because the annuity had not then been confirmed by the new King.

provided the said Hoccleve is not retained by any one else. And we also grant him the arrears of his said Annuity since last Michaelmas, 1412. Given 28 Sept. 1412.

vite sue, cum aliquo alio preterquam nobiscum non retineatur. Et ulterius, de vberiori gracia nostra, concessimus prefato Thome, id quod ei aretro est de annuitate sua predicta, a festo Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito, habendum de dono nostro. In cuius etc. *Teste Rege*, apud Westmonasterium, xxvii die Septembris. Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XXVI.

1 Dec. 1413. Payment to Hoccleve of a year's arrear of his Annuity of £13 6s. 8d. to Michs. 1413.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Henry V.]

Die Veneris, primo die Decembris.

To Thos. Hoccleve, — a Privy-Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 8d. a year, which was confirmed by Henry V. on 28 Sept. last — in money paid to him,

for the terms of Easter and Michaelmas last,

£13 6s. 8d.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum de officio priuati sigilli, cui Dominus Henricus, nuper Rex Anglie, xx marcus annuas ad Scaccarium suum, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones percipiendas, per literas suas patentes concessit; quas quidem literas Dominus Rex nunc, xxvii^o die Septembris proximo preterito, confirmavit: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem xx marcarum, quas idem Dominus Rex nunc de vberiore gracia sua liberare mandauit, habendas de dono suo pro arrearagijs annuitatis predictae, videlicet pro terminis Pasche et Sancti Michaelis ultimis preteritis, per breue suum de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino. xiiij.li. vj.s. viij.d.¹

XXVII.

17 Jan. 1414. Payment to Hoccleve of £1 6s. 8d., for nine months' parchment, ink, and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 2 Hen. V.]

Die Jouis, xvij^o die Januarij.

To Thos. Occlve, paid by the hands of his clerk, Jn. Welde,

Thome Occllyffe, Clerico in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis, per manus Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, in persolucionem xxvj. s. viij. d. quos

¹ Master John Prophete is still Keeper of the Privy Seal, and receives "wages and fees," at the rate of 20^s. a day. A payment to John Welde and five companions in the Privy-Seal Office, for copying out old "truces" with foreign countries, at the rate of 6s. 8d. to each, is quoted in Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 331.

Dominus Rex eidem Thome liberare mandavit, pro pergameno, incausto, cera rubea, per ipsum emptis, et expensis¹ in officio priuati sigilli dicti Domini Regis, videlicet, a quinto die Marcij vltimo preterito, vsque xij diem Decembris extunc proxime sequentem; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino

for parchment, ink, and red wax, expended in the Office, from 5 March 1413, to 13 Dec.

xxvj s. viij d. 26s. 8d.

XXVIII.

1414, Easter, 2 Hen. V. 2 May, Wednesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one &c. 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 2 May 1414. 26 13s. 4d. to Easter.

[Thomas Chaucers, Esquire (scutifer), was sent to the Dukes of Burgundy & Holland.]

XXIX.

1415, Easter, 3 Hen. V. No payment on the Pells Roll. No Auditors' Roll. (A William Hokhyrst is mentioned.) The payment seems however to have been made, as the Tellers' Roll for Trinity, 3 Henry V., contains the following undated entry—

... 1415. 26 13s. 4d. to Easter 1415.

"Thome Occleue, de certo suo annuo . x. marce."

XXX.

1415, Mich., 3 Hen. V. 29 Feb., 1416, Saturday. "To Thomas Hoccleve, one of the Clerks of the Lord the King of the Office of his Privy Seal," for Michaelmas, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (This is a fuller description than usual.) 29 Feb. 1416. 26 13s. 4d. to Michr. 1415.

XXXI.

18 July, 1416. Half-yearly payment to Hoccleve by 3 instalments, through friends, of £6 13s. 4d. to Easter, with 13s. 4d. on loan.

Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 4 Hen. V.

Die Sabbati, xvij^o die Julij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, cui Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Anglie, pater Domini Regis nunc, xx marcus ad Scuccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones per-

Thomas Occleue. To him, a Clerk of the Privy-Seal Office,

¹ Expenditis, for expensis.

cipiendas, per literas suas concessit,—quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit:—In denarijs sibi liberatis, videlicet, per manus Johannis Burgh,¹ xl. s.; per manus Roberti Welton,² vj. s. viij. d.; et per manus Johannis Welde,³ Clerici sui, iiij. li. vj. s. viij. d., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xij. s. iiij. d. Eidem Thome, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus predicti Johannis Welde, Clerici sui, de prestito super huiusmodi certo suo xij. s. iiij. d. vnde

Respondebit.

XXXII.

14 Feb. 1417. Payment to Hoccleve of £2 6s. 8d. for 4 months' ink and red wax.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michs. 4 Hen. V.]

Die Sabbati, xiiij^o die Februarij.

To him, thro'
Jn. Burgh £2,
thro' Rob.
Welton, 6s. 8d.,
thro' Jn. Welde,
Hoccleve's clerk,
£4 6s. 8d.,
to Easter, 1416,

£6 13s. 4d.,

and thro'
Jn. Welde,
as a loan, 13s. 4d.

for ink and red
wax, bought of
Walter Lucy,

Thome [Hoccleve⁴], vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Welde,⁵ clerici sui, in persolucionem xlvj. s. viij. d., quos Dominus Rex sibi liberare mandauit, pro incausto et cera rubia per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy, haberdassher, London', et inter xvj diem

¹ John Burgh, "Esquire," is still mentioned on m. 9 as receiving an annuity of 20l. under a grant of Richard II; see p. lii.

² Robert Welton is also mentioned on this Roll, m. 9 and 14, as one of the Clerks of the Receipt of the Exchequer. He had an annuity of 20l. by grant of Henry IV., and had been sent to Boston and Hull to oversee the customers [receivers of customs-dues], and ascertain the amounts of their receipts.

³ On 27 May, John Welde, "one of the Clerks in the Office of the Privy Seal," received 20s., which the King commanded to be paid him as a reward for his labours in that Office.

⁴ Blank: no doubt meant for Hoccleve.

⁵ 1418, Pells Issue Rolls, Easter, 6 Hen. V.

"Die Veneris xiiij^o die Maij. Johanni Welde et Willelmo Albertyn, Clericis in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem liij. s. iiij. d. eis liberandorum de regardo speciali, per ausamentum Consilij Domini Regis, eis facto pro laboribus per ipsos habitis in officio predicto per tres annos vltimos preteritos, tam apud Calesiam [Calais] quam infra regnum Anglie, absque feodo vel annuitate de Rege percepto per idem tempus; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino liij. s. iiij. d."

Decembris anno secundo et iiijth diem Aprilis anno quarto expendentis¹ in officio predicto; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de termino Pasche ultimo preterito xlvj. s. viij. d. from 16 Dec. 1414
to 4 April, 1416,

2s 6s. 8d.

XXXIII.

13 March, Saturday. Payment of the annuity for Michaelmas, "by his own hands,"—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 13 March 1417.
2s 13s. 4d.
to Michs. 1416.

XXXIV.

1417, Easter, 5 Hen. V. 25 May, Friday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one &c., for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (It does not say that the payment was made to "his own hands.") 25 May 1417.
2s 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXV.

1417, Michs. 5 Henry V. 30 Nov. Monday. Payment of part, "by his own hands,"—3^l. 6^s. 8^d. 30 Nov. 1417.
2s 6s. 8d.
10 Feb. Thursday. Payment of the rest, "by his own hands,"—3^l. 6^s. 8^d.³ 10 Feb. 1418,
2s 6s. 8d.
to Michs. 1417.

XXXVI.

1418, Easter, 6 Hen. V. 1 July, Friday. Payment to Hoccleve for Easter term,—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 1 July, 1418,
2s 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXVII.

1418, Michs. 6 Hen. V. 7 Dec., Wednesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one, &c., for Michaelmas, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (It does not say "by his own hands.") 7 Dec., 1418,
2s 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

XXXVIII.

1419, Easter, 7 Hen. V. 8 July, Saturday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. 8 July, 1419,
2s 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

XXXIX.

1419, July 10. Payment of 12s. 2d. to Hoccleve for 16 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 7 Hen. V.²]

¹ Sic, for *expendentis*, or *expenditis*, as in other accounts.

² John, Lord of Furnyvall, Keeper of the King's land of Ireland, is mentioned on membrane 15.

Die Lune, x^o die Julij (1419).

**Thomas
Hoccleve.**

To him, for
red wax and ink
bought of
Walter Lucy,
from March 6,
1418, to July 10,
1419,

12s. 2d.

Thome Hoccleve, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli, In denarijs sibi deliberatis per manus proprias, pro cera rubea et incausto,¹ de Waltero Lucy, Ciui et haberdassher London', per ipsum emptis, et in officio predicto inter vj^{tu}m diem Marcij anno quinto et x^m diem Julij anno vij^{mo} expenditis; per breue de priuato Sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino xij. s. ij. d.

XL.

22 Nov. 1419.
28 13s. 4d.
to Michs., 1419.

1419, Michs. 7 Hen. V. 22 Nov. Wednesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one, &c., for Michs., 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. (It does not say "by his own hands.")

XLI.

17 June, 1420.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

1420, Easter, 8 Hen. V. 17 June, Monday. Payment for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. "by his own hands."

XLII.

26 Nov. 1420.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

1420, Michs. 8 Hen. V. 26 Nov., Tuesday. To Thomas Hoccleve, one, &c., "by his own hands," for Mich., 6^l. 13^s. 4^d.

XLIII.

5 July, 1421.
26 13s. 4d.
to Easter.

1421, Easter, 9 Hen. V. 5 July, Saturday. Payment to Hoccleve for Easter, 6^l. 13^s. 4^d. "by his own hands."

XLIV.

11 Nov. 1421.
26 13s. 4d.
to Michs.

1421, Michs. 9 Hen. V. 11 Nov., Tuesday. Similar payment to Hoccleve, "by his own hands."

¹ The payments for *parchment* during this time were made direct to Lucy: see Pells Issue Roll, Mich. 7 Hen. V., A.D. 1419: "Die Jouis xxx^{mo} die Nouembris. Waltero Lucy, Ciui et Haberdassher London', In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergamenno pro officio priuati sigilli, tempore festinacionis et necessitatis ab eo empto ad vices: per breue generale vt supra—xij. s. vj. d." In the next roll, Easter, 8 Hen. V., under date of 3 July, there is another payment to Lucy for four bundles of parchment at certain prices, for the office of the Privy Seal, and for the Receipt of the Exchequer, under a general writ.

XLV.

23 Feb. 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of 40s. 11½*d.* for 19 months' red wax and ink.

[Pells Issue Roll, Micha. 9 Hen. V., 1421.]

Die Lune, xxij. die Februarij [1422].

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Regis, et Willelmo Alberton', Clerico in eodem officio, In denarijs eis liberatis, videlicet, per manus predicti Thome, xl.s. xj.d. ob. pro cera rubea et incauste¹ emptis de Waltero Lucy, Cini Londonie, ad opus Regis, et expensis in dicto officio, videlicet, a x^{mo} die Julij Anno vij. eiusdem Regis vsque x^{mo} diem Februarij ultimo preteritum; et per manus dicti Willelmi, xvij.s. iiij.d. tam pro pergamento per ipsum empto ad opus dicti Regis et expedito in dicto officio, tempore quo dictus Rex ultimo erat apud Eboracum et partes ibidem, quam pro solutione per ipsum nuper facta apud Cinitatem Lincolnie diuersis personis ibidem, pro certis literis Regis portandis in Comitatum Cornubie; per breue de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino

lix.s. iij.d. ob.²

Thomas Hoccleue.
To him

40s. 11½*d.*
for red wax and ink bought for the Privy Seal Office from July 10, 1419 to Feb. 10, 1422;
and to Wm. Alberton lxx. 4*d.* for parchment bought

when Hen. V. was at York, and for money paid at Lincoln for sending the King's letters to Cornwall;

23 12s. 2½*d.*

XLVI.

25 May, 1422. Payment to Hoccleve of his half-yearly £6 13s. 4*d.* to Easter.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Hen. V.]

Die Lune, xxv. die Maij.

Thome Hoccleue, vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, patris Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas percipiendas singulis annis ad Scaccarium suum, pro termino vite ipsius Thome, ad terminus Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas

To Thos. Hoccleue, Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office of Hen. IV.

who gave him £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a year for life, for his good service,

¹ So, for 'incausto.'

² Among the "Liberationes" to the "ministers" of the Exchequer from 14 January to 28 March is the following entry: "Waltero Lucy de London', Haberdassher, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, pro pergamento ab eo empto, tam pro officio Theasaurarij et Camerariorum de Scaccario, quam priuati Sigilli Domini Regis xl.v.s. ij.d."

There is a duplicate of this roll.

HOCCLEVE.—M.P.

lxvi *Hoccleve's Annuity Confirmed. Payment to Him in 1423.*

and Hen. V.
confirmed it,—

£6 2s. 7½d. by
assignment,
and 10s. 8½d. in
money;

£6 13s. 4d.

suas patentes concessit, quas quidem literas dictus Dominus Rex nunc confirmavit; In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, videlicet, per assignacionem factam isto die, vj.li. ij.s. vij.d. ob., et in moneta x.s. viij.d. ob., in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberatarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche ultimo preterito; per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino vj. li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

XLVII.

24 Jan. 1423. Inspeximus and Confirmation by Henry VI. of Hoccleve's Annuity of £13 6s. 8d.

[Patent Roll, 1 Henry VI., part 2, membrane 7.]

De confirmatione—Hoccleue.

We have seen the
confirmation by
Henry V.

of Hoccleve's
Annuity of
£13 6s. 8d. granted
by Hen. IV.

on 28 Sept. 1413.

By the advice of
Our Council,
We approve and
confirm the same.

24 Jan. 1423-3.

Rex, Omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus literas patentes carissimi Domini et patris nostri Regis Henrici quinti defuncti, de confirmatione factas in hec verba: "Henricus, Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie, et Dominus HEND¹, Omnibus ad quos (&c., as in the Patent of 1 Hen. V., 28 Sept. 1413). In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso, apud Westmonasterium, vicesimo octauo die Septembris anno regni nostri primo." Nos autem dictas literas ipsius patris nostri, de auisamento magni Consilij nostri, approbamus, ratificamus et confirmamus, prout litere predictae rationabiliter testantur. In cuius etc. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xxiiij die Januarij.

Per breue de priuato sigillo.

XLVIII.

15 Feb. 1423. Payment to Hoccleve of a half-year's Annuity (£6 13s. 4d.) to Michs. 1422.

[Pells Issue Rolls, Michaelmas, 1 Henry VI.]

¹ Sic, for Hibernie.

Die Lune, xv^o die Februarij.

Thome Hoccleue, nuper vni clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc: cui idem nuper Rex, pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo, xx marcas percipiendas ad Scaccarium suum, singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit: quas quidem literas pater¹ Regis nunc ac idem Dominus Rex confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breue de liberato inter mandata de hoc termino vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

To Thos. Hoccleue, late a Clerk in the Privy-Seal Office, to whom Henry IV. granted £13. 6s. 8d. a year for his life,

and Henry V. and VI. confirmed it,—in money paid

for a half-year's annuity to Michaelis, 1423,

26 13s. 4d.

XLIX.

20 May 1423. Payment to Hoccleve of a half-year's Annuity, £6 13s. 4d., to Easter 1423.

[Polls Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Hen. VI.]

Die Jouis, xx^o die Maij.²

Thome Hoccleue, nuper vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex—pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo—xx. marcas percipiendas ad Scaccarium suum singulis annis durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit: quas quidem literas Dominus Henricus nuper Rex, pater Regis nunc, ac idem Dominus Rex nunc confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Pasche vltimo preterito, per breue de liberato inter mandata de hoc termino vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

Thomas Hoccleue, late a Privy-Seal clerk, to whom Henry IV. granted £13 6s. 8d. a year,

and Henry V. and VI.

confirmed it—in money paid to for a ½ year's him annuity to

Easter, 1423, 26 13s. 4d.

¹ This is expressed more fully in the following Roll.

² This heading applies to both this and the next Hoccleve entry on this roll, but they are some distance apart.

L.

20 May 1423. Grant to Hoccleve of 23s.
1*d.* for red wax and ink, bought for the
Privy-Seal Office.

[Pells Issue Roll, Easter, 1 Henry VI.]

**Thomas
Hoccleue,**
of the Privy-Seal
Office, paid to him
for red wax and
ink,
bought of Walter
Lucy of London,
for the Office,
from 9 Feb. 1423
to 19 May 1423,
23s. 1*d.*

Thome Hoccleue, de officio priuati sigilli Domini
Regis, In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in
persolucionem xxiiij.s. iiij.d.¹ quos Dominus Rex nunc
eidem Thome liberare mandauit pro cera rubea et in-
causto, per ipsum emptis de Waltero Lucy de London',
et in dicto officio expenditis, a ix^o die Februarij, anno
ix^o Regis Henrici quinti, patris Regis nunc, vsque xix
die[m] Maij vltimo preteritum, per breue de priuato si-
gillo inter mandata de hoc termino . . . xxiiij.s. j.d.²

LI.

4 July 1424. Grant to Hoccleve of the
Corrody that the late Nicholas Mokkyng
had in the Priory of Southwick, Hants.

[*Privy-Council Proceedings and Ordinances*, 1422-9,
vol. iii, p. 152, ed. Nicolas, 1834.]

[Additional MS. in British Museum 4604, art. 34 ; a
modern Transcript.—Petition to the King and Council,
with the answer, 4th July, 2 Hen. VI. 1424.]

To the King and
Council.

Thos. Hoccleue
of the Privy-Seal
Office begs you to
grant him such
provision for life
in Southwick
Priory, Hants, as
the late N. Mok-
kyng had.

“Au Roy, nostre tresredoute et souverain seigneur, et
as tresnobles et tressages seigneurs de son Consail.

“Supplie votre treshumble clerc, Thomas Hoccleue,
de l'office du prive seal, quil plaise a voz tresnobles seign-
uries lui granter autiele sustenance, a prendre chascun
an durante sa vie, en la priore de Suthwyk en contée de
Suthampton, come Nichol Mokkyng, que mort est,—
nadaigre Maistre de Saint Laurance de Ponteneye en
Londres—avoit et prist en la dicte priore quant il
vesquist,³ pour Dieu et en oeuvre de charitee.

¹ Sic.

² “j.d.” is written over an erasure ; probably a correction of
the “iiij.d.” above.

³ As Hoccleue's annuity was paid to Michs. 1425, it isn't
certain that this Southwick corrody was worth £20 a year so as
to stop the King's annuity under the original (p. xlix) and the
substituted Grants. But the Treasurer no doubt did stop it
after 1425.

Appendix. Last Payment of Hoccleve's Annuity, 1426. lxix

"H. Gloucestre. H. Cantuariensis. J. Londoniensis. H. Wyntonsiensis. Philippus Wygorniensis. Warwyk. Scrop. Hungerford.

"(*In dorso*) iiii die Julij, anno secundo, apud Westmonasterium, concessa fuit præsens supplicatio in forma qua petitur, præsentibus dominis infrascriptis."

4 July 1424.
Hoccleve's
petition is
granted.

LII.

1424, Micha. 3 Hen. VI. Thomas Hocclyff, *late* one of the Clerks in the office of the Privy Seal, to Henry IV., who for his good service gave him 20 marks yearly by letters patent, confirmed by the present King:—6^l. 13^s. 4^d. for the half-year, paid into his own hands on Monday, 27 November.

27 Nov. 1424.
26 13s. 4d. to
Michaelmas.

LIII.

11 Feb. 1426. Payment of Hoccleve's last half-year's Annuity (£6 13s. 4d.) to Michs. 1425.

[Pells Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 4 Hen. VI.]

Die Lune, xj^o die Februarij.

Thome Hocclyff, nuper vni Clericorum in officio priuati sigilli Domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie, aui Regis nunc, cui idem nuper Rex—pro bono et laudabili seruicio per ipsum Thomam eidem nuper Regi impenso et impendendo—xx [marcas]¹ percipiendas singulis annis ad Scaccarium suum durante vita sua, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, per equales porciones, per literas suas patentes concessit; quas quidem literas Dominus Henricus nuper Rex Anglie, pater Regis, ac idem Dominus Rex nunc, confirmauerunt: In denarijs sibi liberatis per manus proprias, in persolucionem x marcarum sibi liberandarum de huiusmodi certo suo, videlicet, pro termino Sancti Michaelis vltimo preterito, per breue de liberate inter mandata de hoc termino

To Thos. Hoccleve, late one of the Clerks in the Privy-Seal Office,

to whom
£13 6s. 8d. a year
was granted by
Henry V.,—

in money paid
to him

for his ½ year's
Annuity to
Michs. 1425,

vj li. xiiij s. iij d. 26 13s. 4d.

There is nothing about Hoccleve in the Pells Issue Rolls of Easter 4 Hen. VI, 1426; Micha. 5 Hen. VI, 1426; Easter 10 Hen. VI, 1432; Easter 15 Hen. VI,

¹ Omitted.

1437; Easter 17 Hen. VI, 1439; Michaelmas 19 Hen. VI, 1440; Easter 20 Hen. VI, 1442; Easter 25 Hen. VI, 1447.

1440. In the Pells Issue Roll for Easter, 18 Hen. VI, there is a payment to "divers Clerks of the King's Privy Seal," of the King's gift, as a reward for transcribing the Agreements made with the Emperor—5 marks. And another payment to "Thomas Fraunk,¹ one of the Clerks, and Filacer in the office of the King's Privy Seal."² But there is no reference to Hoccleve.

The foregoing notices were obtained from the Patent Rolls and the Exchequer Rolls only by dint of searching through some hundreds of membranes—perhaps about 1500. Few, if any, of them are referred to in the meagre indexes.

¹ Or Franke.

² Was he the successor of Hoccleve? He is also mentioned in Easter 15 Hen. VI., Easter 17 Hen. VI., and Mich. 19 Hen. VI.

HOCCLEVE'S MINOR POEMS.

A.D. 1413—1446.

Phillipps MS. 8151 (formerly Prince Henry's, Son of James I).
leaf 3: vellum, ab. 1450 A.D.

The Compleynte of the Virgin before the Cross.

(englight by command of LADY HAREFORD.)

(In 5-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*)

[The first leaf of the MS. and of this *Compleynte* (a 1) is lost. The first 2 leavs of the Poem to 'Oldcastel,' sign. a 7, 8, have been put befor the 2nd leaf of the Virgin *Compleynte* (sign. a 2), to prevent the MS. looking incomplete. Ther was thus at least one rascaly bookseller in James I's time.]

[7]

¶ O Womman,—þat among the peple speek'
How þat the wombe blessid was þat beer,
And the tetes þat yaf to sowken eek'
The sone of god / which on hy hangith heer,—
What seist thou now / why comest thou no neer? 47
Why nart thou heere! / o womman, where art thou,
That nat ne seest my woful wombe now? 49

43 [sign. a 2, leaf 3]
O Woman (*Luke*,
xi. 27) who sed
my Womb was
'blessed,' where
art thou now?

[8]

¶ O Simeon / thou seidest me ful sooth
'The strook' that perce shal my sones herte,
My soule thirle it shal' / and so it dooth :
The wounde of deeth ne may I nat asterte,
Ther may no martirdom me make smerte 54
So sore as this martree smertith me :
So sholde he seyn / þat myn hurt mighte see. 56

50 O Simeon, the
sword that pierst
my Son's heart
(*Luke*, ii. 35)
pierces mine too!

[9]

O Father and Mother! why did ye breed me?	¶ O. Ioachim / o deere fadir myn !	57
	And seint Anne, my modir deere also !	
	To what entente / or to what ende or fyn	
	Broghten yee me foorth / þat am gresued so ?	
	Mirthe is to me become a verray fo.	61
	Your fadir Dauid / þat an harpoure was,	
	Conforted folk þat stood in heuy cas.	63

[10]

	Me thynkith yee nat doon to me aright,	64
	þat were his successours / syn instrument	
Ye cannot comfort me.	Han yee noon left / wher-with me make light,	
	And me conforte, in my woful torment.	
	Me to doon ese / han yee no talent,	68
	And knowen myn conforteless distresse :	
	Yee oghten weepe for myn heuynesse.	70

[11]

O Son,	¶ O blessid sone / on thee wole I out throwe	71
	My salte teeres / for oonly on thee	
	My look is set / o thynke / how many a throwe	
think how I nurst and kist Thee !	Thow in myn armes lay / and on my knee	
	Thow sat / & haddist many a kus of me.	75
	Beek thee, to sowke, on my breestes yaf y,	
	Thee norisshyng faire & tendrely.	77

[12]

Now Death takes Thee from me!	Now thee fro me, withdrawith bittir deeth,	78
	And makith a wrongful disseuerance.	
	Thynke nat, sone / in me þat any breeth	
	Endure may / þat feele al this greuance ;	
	My martirdom me hath at the outrance ;	82
	I needes sterue moot / syn I thee see	
	Shamely nakid, strecchid on a tree.	84

[13]

[leaf 4]	And this me sleeth / þat in the open day	85
	Thyn hertes wownde shewith him so wyde	

þat alle folk see and beholde it may,
 So largeliche opned is thy syde.
 O! wo is me, syn I nat may it hyde!
 And, among othre of my amerte greeues,
 Thow put art also, sone, amonges theeues,

89

And, alas! Thou
 art set among
 thieves!

91

[14]

As thow were an euel & wikkid wight.
 And, lest þat somme folk¹ par auenture
 No knowleche hadde of thy persone aright,
 Thy name, Pilat hath put in scripture,
 þat knowe mighte it euery creature,
 For thy penance sholde nat been hid.
 O / wo is me / þat al this see betid!

92

Thy name is
 written up that
 all folk may know
 Thee.

96

98

[15]

How may myn yen, þat beholde al this,
 Restreyne hem for to shewe by weepyng
 Myn hertes greef / moot I nat weepe! O yis!
 Sone, if thow haddist a fadir lyuyng,
 That wolde weepe & make waymentyng,
 For þat he hadde paart of thy persone,
 That were a greet abreggyng of my mone.

99

103

Thou hast no
 father living to
 comfort me.

105

[16]

But thow in eerthe / fadir haddist neuere;
 No wight for thee / swich cause hath for to pleyne,
 As þat haue I / shalt thow fro me disseuere,
 þat aart al heolly myn! my sorwes deepe
 Han al myn hertes ioie leid to sleepe.
 No wight with me, in thee, my sone, hath part:
 Hoolly of my blood¹ / deere chyld / thow art.

106

[leaf 4, back]
 Earthly father,
 thou never hadst.

110

112

Thou art wholly
 my child.

[17]

That doublith al my torment & my greef.
 Vn-to myn herte / it is confusion,
 Thyn harm to see / þat art to me so leef.
 Mighte nat, sone / the Redempcioun

113

I grieve to see
 Thee hurt.

¹ MS. blood.

- Of man han bee withoute effusioun 117
 Of thy blood? yis / if it had been thy lust.
 But what Thou wilt, be done! But what thow wilt be doon / souffre me must! 119
- [18]
- O deeth / so thow kythist thy bittirnesse 120
 First on my sone / & aftirward on me.
 Bittir art thow / & ful of crabbidnesse,
 That my sone hast slayn thurgh thy cruelte,
 And nat me sleest / certein, nat wole I flee. 124
 Come of / come of / & slee me heere, as blyue!
 Departe from him / wole I nat a lyue! 126
- [19]
- [leaf 5]
 O Moon and Stars,
 ¶ O moone / o sterres / and thow firmament! 127
 How may yee, fro wepyng yow restreyne,
 And seen your Creatour in swich torment?
 Yee oghten troublid been in euery veyne,
 And his despitous deeth / with me compleyne. 131
 Weepeth & crieth as lowde as yee may,
 Our Creatour with wrong is slayn this day. 133
- [20]
- [¹ But see Luke
 xxiii. 43-5, &c.]
 Darkness from the
 6th to the 9th
 hour.
 O Sun, why
 leavest
 thou my Son
 uncoverd here?
 ¶ O sonne, with thy cleere bemes brighte,¹ 134
 þat seest my child nakid this nones tyde,
 Why souffrest thow him, in the open sighte
 Of the folk' heere / vnkeuered abyde?
 Thou art as moche, or more, holde him to hyde, 138
 Than Sem, þat helid his Fadir Noe
 Whan he espyde þat nakid was he. 140
- [21]
- If thow his sone be / do lyk ther-to! 141
 Come of / withdrawe thy bemes brightnesse!
 Thow art to blame / but if thow so do.
 For shame / hyde my sones nakidnesse!
 Is ther in thee no sparcle of kyndenesse? 145
 Remembre he is thy lord and Creatour!
 Now keure him / for thy worsship & honour! 147

[22]

¶ O eerthe / what lust hast thou to susteine 148 [leaf 5, back]
 The crois on which he þat thee made, and it,
 Is hangid ! / and aourned thee with greene
 Which þat thou werist / how hast thou thee qwit
 Vn-to thy lord ? / o do this for him yit ! 152
 O ! wake for doel / & cleue thou in two,
 And al þat blood / restore me vn-to, 154 in two, and re-
 store my Son's
 blood !

[23]

Which thou hast dronke / it myn is, & not thyn ; 155
 Or elles thus / withouten tarynge
 Tho bodyes dede / whiche in thee þat lyn,
 Caste out / for they, by taast of swich dewynge,
 Hem oghte clothe ageyn in hir clothyng. 159
 Thow Caluarie / thou art namely
 Holden for to do so / to thee speke Y. 161 or cast out thy
 dead !
 Calvary, do this !

[24]

O deere sone / myn deeth neighth faste, 162
 Syn to an othir / thou hast youen me
 Than vn-to thee / & how may my lyf laste,
 þat me yeuest any othir than thee ? How can I live ?
 Thogh he / whom thou me yeuest / maiden be, 166
 And thogh by iust balance / thou weye al,
 The weighth of him & thee / nat is egal. 168

[25]

He a disciple is / & thou art a Lord ; 169 [leaf 6]
 Thou al away art gretter than he is ;
 Betwixt your mightes / is ther greet discord.
 My woful torment / doublid is by this ;
 I needes mourne moot / & fare amis ; 173
 It seemeth þat thou makist departynge
 Twixt thee & me for ay / withoute endynge ; 175 Thou seemest to
 have severed me
 from Thee for
 ever.

[26]

And namely / syn thou me ' womman ' callist, 176
 As I to thee straunge were and vnknowe ; Thou calledst me
 ' Woman ! '
 Therthurgh, my sone / thou my ioie appallist ;

- Wel feele I þat deeth his vengeable bowe
 Hath bent / & me purposith down to throwe. 180
My name is changed! Of sorwe talke may I nat ynow,
 Syn fro¹ my name / I-down away is now. 183
 [27]
- I see Mary better;* Wel may men clepe and calle me 'Mara'! 183
 From hennes forward, so may men me call.
 How sholde I lenger' clept be 'Maria',
 Syn 'I', which is Iherus, is fro me fast
my sweetness is turned to gall! This day / al my sweetness is in-to gall 187
 Torned, syn þat 'I', which was the beautee
 Of my name / this day bynome is me. 189
 [28]
- [leaf 8, back]* ¶ O Iohn, my deere freend! thow haast receyued 190
O Iohn, how A woful modir / and an heuy sone
 Hauē I of thee / deeth hath myn othir weyued!
can we avoid death? How may we two, the deeth eschue or shone!
 We drery wightes two / wher may we wone? 194
 Thou art of comfort / destitut / I see;
 And so am I / ful careful been wee! 196
 [29]
- Vn-to ours hertes / deeth hath sent his wownde: 197
 Noon of vs may alleggen othres payne.
No full of woe are we, So manye sorwes in vs two habownde,
 We han no might, fro sorwe vs restreyne;
 I see non othir / die moot we tweyne; 201
let us die! Now let vs steruen heer *par* compaignie!
 Sterue thow there / & heere wole I die. 203
 [30]
- ¶ O Angels / thogh yee mourne and waile & weeps², 204
 Yee do no wrong / slayn is your Creatour
 By the folk' þat yee weren wont to keepe
 And gye & lede / they to dethes shour
 Han put him / thogh yee han wo & langour, 208

¹ 'me' left out, for want of power to work it in.

² Cp. Chaucer's 'wrynge & waile & weepe,' Clerk's Envoy.
Cant. Tales.

- No wondir is it / who may blame yow?
 And yit ful cheer he had hem þat him slow. 210
- [31]
- ¶ O / special loue / þat me ioyned haast 211 [leaf 7]
 Vn-to my sone / strong is thy knyttynge!
 This day ther-in fynde I a bittir taast;
 For now the taast I feele, & the streynynge
 Of deeth / by thy deeth / feele I deeth me styng. 215 now I feel Death's
 O poore modir / what shalt thou now seye?
 Poore Marie / thy wit is aweye! 217 sting!
- [32]
- Marie! nay / but 'marred' I thee call. 218 I am not Mary,
 So may I wel / for thou art / wel I woot,
 Vessel of care & wo, & sorwes all!
 Now thou art frosty cold / now fyry hoot;
 And right as þat a ship, or barge, or boot, 222
 Among the wawes dryueth steerelees,
 So doost thou, woful womman, confortlees! 224 a vessel of woe!
- [33]
- And of modir / haast thou eek' lost the style: 225
 No more maist thou clept be by thy name!
 ¶ O sones of Adam / al to long whyle
 Yee tarien hens / hieth hidir for shame!
 See how my sone / for your gilt & blame, 229
 Hangith heer al bybled vp on the crois!
 Bymeneth him in herte & cheere & vois! 231 see my Son bleed-
 ing on the Cross!
- [34]
- His bloody stremes, see now & beholde! 232 [leaf 7, back]
 If yee to him han any affecciou,
 Now for his wo / your hertes oghten colda.
 Shewith your loue and your dilecciou;
 For your gilt makith he correcciou 236
 And amendes / right by his owne deeth:
 þat yee nat reewe on him, myn herte it sleeth. 238
- [35]
- A modir þat so soone / hir cote taar 239
 Or rente / sy men neuere noon or this,

For chyld / which þat shee of hir body baar,
 To yeue her tete: as my chyld, þat heere is,
 His cote hath torn / for your gilt, nat for his, 243
 And hath his blood despent in greet foyssoun;
 And al it was for your Redempcioun. 245

For your redemption,
 He shed His
 blood.

¶ Cest tout.

Ceste Compleynte paramont feut translatee au
 commandement de ma dame de Hereford,
 que dieu pardoynt!

[II.]

Ceste feust faicte au temps que le Roy
 Henri le VI, (que Dieu pardoint!)
 feust a Hampton sur son primer
 passage vers Harflete.

(In 5-measure eights, *abab, cded.*)

[1]

[sign. a 7, leaf 1]

THe laddre of heuene / I meene charitee,
 Comandith vs / if our brothir be falle
 In to errour / to haue of him pitee,
 And seeke weyes, in our wittes alle, 4
 How we may him ageyn to vertu calle;
 And in gretter errour ne knowe I noon
 Than thow, þat dronke haast¹ heresies galle,
 And art fro Crystes feith twynned & goon. 8

Oldcastle! thou
 hast left Christ's
 faith!

[2]

Allas! þat thow þat were a manly knyght,
 And shoon ful cleer in famous worthynesse,
 Standynge in the fauour of euery wight,
 Haast lost the style of cristenly prowesse 12

¹ The *aa* in 'haast,' l. 7, and 'aart, peart,' l. 150, 152, occurs elsewhere. The Latin side-notes, below, are in the MS.

Among alle hem / þat stande in the cleernesse
 Of good byleeue / & no man with thee holdith,
 Sauþ cursid caitifs, heires of dirknesse :
 For verray routhe of thee / myn herte coldith. 16

[3]

Thow haast maad a fair permutacion
 Fro Crystes lore to feendly doctryne ;
 From honour & fro dominacion
 Vn-to repreef and mescheuous v[e]nyne ; 20
 Fro cristen folk' / to hethenly couyne ;
 Fro seuretee vn-to vnsikirnesse ;
 Fro ioie and ese / vn-to wo & pyne,
 Fro light of trouthe / vn-to dirke falsnesse. 24

[4]

O Oldcastel / allas / what eilid thee
 To slippe in to the snare of heresie ?
 Thurgh which / thow foo arte to the Trinitee,
 And to the blissid virgyne Marie, 28
 And to the Innumerable holy compaignie
 Of heuene / and to al holy chirche. allas !
 To longe haast thow bathid in þat folie !
 Ryse vp / & pource thee of thy trespas ! 32

[5]

Seynt Austyn seith / ' whiles a man abydyth
 In heresie or scisme / and list nat flee
 Ther fro / his soule / fro God he diuidith,
 And may nat saued been in no degree. 36
 For what man holdith nat the vnitee
 Of holy Chirche / neithir his bapteenne,
 Ne his almesse / how large þat it be,
 To helthe him profyete / ne god qweeme.' 40

[6]

And yit more-ouer he seith thus also,
 ' Thogh þat an heretyk, for Crystes name
 Shede his blood / & his lyf for Cryst forgo,
 Shall nat him saue ' / allas, the harm & shame ! 44

No one holds with
 thee, but cursed
 caitiffs !

Thou hast left the
 light of Truth for
 darkness !

[sign. a 7, leaf 1,
 back]

Thou art God's
 foe !

Purge thee of thy
 trespas !

[MS.]
 Augustinus de
 fide, ad Petrum :
 ' Firmissime tene,
 & nullatenus
 dubitas, quemlibet
 hereticum &c. qui
 ecclesie catholice
 non tenet vnita-
 tem, neque baptis-
 mus / neque ele-
 mosina quantum-
 cumque copiosa /
 neque mors pro
 Christi nomine
 suscepta, proficere
 poterit ad
 salutem.'

May nat thy smert thy sturdy herte attame ?
 Obeie / obeie / in the name of Jhesu !
 Thou art of merit & of honour lame ;
 Conquere hem two / & thee arme in virtu ! 48

[7]

[sign. a 8, leaf 3]

[MS.]

De Theodosij

illustris Impera-
 toris obedienciali
 humilitate / re-
 spice in historia
 tripartita, libro
 ix^o, ubi narrat,
 'Cum apud Theo-
 loniam Civita-
 tem,' &c.

If thyn hy herte, bolnyng in errour,
 To holy chirche can nat buxum be !
 Beholde Theodosius Emperour,
 How humble & buxum vn-to god was he ! 52
 No reward tooke he of his dignitee,
 But, as a lamb, to holy chirche obeide :
 In the scripture / may men rede & se
 How meekly of the Bisshop, grace he preide. 56

[8]

Thou hast sold
 thy soul to the
 Devil.

Thoffense which þat he ageyn god wroghte,
 Was nat so greet as thyn / by many fold ;
 And yit ful heuy he was, & it forthoghte,
 Obeyng' as þat holy chirche hath wold. 60
 Thow þat thy soule / to the feend haast sold,
 Bye it agayn thurgh thyn obedience !
 Thyn heresie is al to hoor and old ;
 Correcte thee at Crystes reuerence ! 64

[9]

Quench thy
 pride !

Repent !

And for thy soules helthe / do eeke so !
 Thy pryde qwenche, & thy presumpcioun !
 Wher thou hast been to Crystes feith a fo,
 Plante in thyn herte a deep contricioun, 68
 And hennes forth be Crystes Champioun !
 The welles of mercy renneth al in brede ;
 Drynke ther-of / syn ther is swich foyssoun,
 Thyn hertes botel / ther-of fille, I rede. 72

[10]

[sign. a 8, or leaf
 2, back]

¹
 [1 MS. m.]

Ask God mercy !

Thow haast offendid god wondirly sore ;
 And natheless / if thou the wilt amende,
 Thogh thy gilt wer' a thousand¹ tymes more,
 Axe him mercy / & he wole it thee sende. 76

Thow art vnwys / thogh thow thee wys pretende,
And so been alle of thyn opinioun.

To god & holy chirche thow thee bende !
Caste out thy venym thurgh confessioun !

80 Bend thee to Holy Church!

[11]

Thow seist 'confessioun auriculeer
Ther needith noon' / but it is the contrarie ;
Thow lookist mis / thy sighte is nothyng cleer !
Holy writ ther-in is thyn Aduersarie,
And Clerkes alle fro thy conceit varie,
þat Crystes partie holden & maynteene.
Leue þat conceit / lest þat thow mis-carie !
Waar of the sword of god / for it is keena.

Thou objectest to Confessioun.

84 [MS.]
Scriptum est /
'Ostendite vos sacerdotibus.'

Leave that conceit !

88

[12]

Heere, in this lyf / vn-to god mercy crie,
And with the ax or hamer of penance
Smyte on the stoon / slee thyn obstinacie !
Haue of thy synnes heuy remembrance !
Rowne in the preestes ere / & the greuance
Of thy soule / meekly to him confesse ;
And in the wal of heuene / is no dountance,
Thow shalt a qwike stoon be / for thy goodnesse.

92 [MS.]
Augustinus de visitatione infirmorum dicit. 'In muro Ciuitatis superne apponenda es lapis viuis, in cuius edificio non audiat securis aut malleus. hic perferendus est strepitus / hic addendus est lapidi malleus / hic conterendum est totum lapidis superuacuum / strepitus peccatorum tuorum recordatio super quibus perstrepat in aure sacerdotis humillima tua confessio, &c.'

96 malleus / hic conterendum est totum lapidis superuacuum / strepitus peccatorum tuorum recordatio super quibus perstrepat in aure sacerdotis humillima tua confessio, &c.'

100

[* sign. B 1, or leaf 8]

[13]

*O Oldcastel / how hath the feend thee blent !
Where is thy knyghtly herte / art thow his thral !
Thow erreest foule eeke in the sacrament
Of the Auter / but how in special
For to declare it needith nat at al ;
It knowen is in many a Regioun.
Now syn the feend hath youen the a fal /
Qwyte him / let see / ryse vp & slynge him down !

Rise up, and sling the Devil down !

104

[14]

Ryse vp, a manly knyght, out of the slow
Of heresie / o lurker / as a wrecche
Wher' as thow erred haast / correcte it now !
By humbleesse / thow mayst to mercy strecche.

Rise out of the slough of Heresy !

108

Get absolution
from Holy
Church!

To holy chirche go / & ther' fecche
The holsum oyle of absolucion.
If thow of soules hurt ne shame recche,
Thow leesist heuene / and al knyghtly renoun. 112

[15]

Thou refuset to
obey Prelates.

Par cas / thow to thy self shame it arettist,
Vn-to Prelatz of holy chirche obeie :
If it so be / thy conceit thow mis settist.
What man aright can / in his herte weye 116
The trouthe of that! To Ihesu Cryst, I seye,
Principally / is þat obedience.
God hath ordeyned preestes to purveye
Salue of penance / for mannes offense. 120

[16]

[sign. b. 1; lf. 8,
back]

Confess and
repent of thy
errors!

Vnto seint Petir and his successours,
And so foorth down / god hath his power lent
Go to the Preest / correcte thyn errours,
With herte contryt vn-to god y-bent! 124
Despute no more of the sacrament!
As holy chirche biddith, folwe it!
And hennes forward / as by myn assent,
Presume nat so mochil of thy wit! 128

[17]

If a Priest is
vicious,

follow him not,
but obey his
teaching.

I putte cas, a prelat or a preest
Him viciously gouerne in his lyuynge /
Thow oghtist reewe on it / whan thow it seest,
And folwe him nat / but aftir his techynge 132
Thow oghtest do / & for thyn obeyynge
Thow shalt be sauf / & if he teche amis,
Toforn god shal he yeue a rekenynge,
And þat a streit / the greet peril is his. 136

[18]

Stir no arguments
about our Faith!

Lete holy chirche medle of the doctryne
Of Crystes lawes / & of his byleeue,
And lete alle othir folke / ther-to enclyne,
And of our feith noon argumentes mecue. 140

For if we mighte our feith by reson preeue,
We sholde no meryt of our feith haue.
But now a dayes / a Baillif or Reeue
Or man of craft / wole in it dote or rauē.

[MS.]
Fides non habet
meritum, &c.

144

[19]

Some wommen eeke, thogh hir wit be thynne,
Wele argumentes make in holy writ !
Lewde calates ! sittith down and spynne,
And kakele of sumwhat elles, for your wit
Is al to feeble to despute of it !
To Clerkes grete / apparteneth þat aart
The knowleche of þat, god hath fro yow shit ;
Stynte and leue of / for right splendre is your paart.

[sign. b 2, lf. 9]

Women even
argue now about
Holy Writ ! Let
em cackle of
something else !

148

[20]

Oure fadres olde & modres lyued wel,
And taghte hir children / as hem self taght were
Of holy chirche / & axid nat a del
'Why stant this word heere?' / and 'why this word
there ?'

Our forefathers

never askt ques-
tions.

156

'Why spake god thus / and seith thus elles where ?'
'Why dide he this wyse / and mighte han do thus ?'
Our fadres medled no thyng of swich gere :
þat oghte been a good mirour to vs.

No more ought
we.

160

[21]

If land to thee be falle of heritage,
Which þat thy fadir heeld in reste & pees,
With title iust & trewe in al his age,
And his fadir before him brygelees,
And his and his / & so foorth / doutelees
I am ful seur / who so wolde it thee reue,
Thow woldest thee deffende & putte in prees ;
Thy right thow woldest nat, thy thanks, leue.

If you inherited
land

you'd defend it
against robbers.

164

168

[22]

Right so / where as our goode fadres olde
Possessid were, & hadden the seisyne
Peisible / of Crystes feith, & no man wolde

[sign. b 2, lf. 9,
back]
So our fathers
held Christ's
faith.

Impugne hir right! it sit vs to enclyne 172
 Ther-to / let us no ferthere ymagyne
 But as þat they dide! occupie our right;
 And in oure hertes fully determyne
 Our title good / & keepe it with our might. 176

[23]

He who'll not
 defend his rights
 is a coward!

Who so hath right / and nat wole it deffende;
 It is no manhode / it is cowardyse:
 And as in this cas / he shal god offende
 So greuoualy / þat he shal nat souffyse, 180
 The maugree, for to bere in no wyse
 Fro Cryst þat right first greew / & if þat we
 Nat shuln susteene it / we been ful vnwyse:
 Him self is feith / right / trouthe, & al bontee. 184

[24]

[MS.]
 Lege Nemo.
 'Nemo Clericus
 vel militaris, vel
 cuiuslibet alterius
 condicionis de fide
 christiana publice
 turbis coadunatis
 & audientibus
 tractare conetur
 in posterum ex
 hoc tumultus &
 perfidie occasi-
 onem requirens
 &c. & ibi expres-
 satur pena in
 huiusmodi causis
 exequenda.'

The Cristen Emperour Justinian,
 As it is writen / who so list it see,
 Made a lawe deffending: euery man,
 Of what condicion or what degree 188
 þat he were of / nat sholde hardy be
 For to despute of the feith openly;
 And there vp on / sundry peynes sette he,
 þat peril sholde eschued be therby. 192

[25]

[leaf 10]
 Oldcastle, don't
 read Holy Writ!
 Read Lancelot, or

Bewar Oldcastel / & for Crystes sake
 Clymbe no more / in holy writ so hie!
 Rede the storie of Lancelot de lake,
 Or Vegece of the aart of Chiualrie, 196

the Siege of Troy;

The seege of Troie / or Thebes / thee applie
 To thyng þat may to thordre of knyght longe!
 To thy correccioun / now haaste and hie,
 For thow haast been out of ioynt al to longe. 200

[26]

or Judges and
 Joshua:

If thee list thyng rede of auctoritee,
 To thise stories sit it thee to goon:
 To Iudicum / Regum, and Iosue,

To Iudith / & to Paralipomenon, 204
 And Machabe / & as siker as stoon,
 If þat thee list in hem bayte thyn ye,
 More autentike thing / shalt thou fynde noon,
 Ne more pertinent to Chivalrie. 208

these pertain to
Chivalry.

[27]

Knyghtes so dide in tymes þat be past, Knights of old
 Whan they had tendrenesse of hir office ;
 In Crystes feith they stooden stidefast ;
 And as þat the preest, hir soules Norice, 212
 Hem goostly fedde / & yaf hem the notice
 Of Crystes lore : with obedience
 They tooke it / but now regneth swich malice,
 That buxumnesse is put in abstinence. 216

obeyd the Priest.
Now, obedience is
set aside.

[28]

O Constantyn, thou Prince of hy nobleys /
 O cristen Emperour / whos worthynesse
 Desdeyned nat to holy chirche obeys,
 But didest al thy payne & bisynesse, 220
 With wel disposid spirit of meeknesse,
 The Ministres of god for to honure ;
 How thou wroughtist / hast thou so strong wisesse,
 That lyue it shal / whil the world wole endure ! 224

[ff. 10 bk.]

The Emperor
Constantine obeyd
Holy Church.

[29]

Thou took nat on thee hir correctioun,
 Ne vp on hem / thou yaf no iugement !
 Swich was to god thy good affeccioun,
 Thou seidest / ' they been goddes to vs sent ! 228
 And þat it is nothyng conuenient,
 That a man sholde goddes iuge and deeme.'
 Thou werest a noble & a worthy Regent !
 Wel was byset on thee / thy diadeeme ! 232

[MS.]
De admirabili
honore quem
Constantinus Im-
perator exhibuit
ecclesie Ministris
ita scribitur /
' Deus vos consti-
tuit sacerdotes, &
potestatem dedit
vobis iudicandi, &
ideo nos a vobis
iudicari; vos
autem non potestis
ab hominibus
iudicari,' &c.

[30]

Blessid be god / fro whom deryued is
 Al grace / our lige lord / which þat is now
 Our feithful cristen Prince and King / in this

Our Henry V
follows his steps.

Oldcastle! Follow these Princes!	Folwith thy steppes / o' for shame thow Oldcastel / thow haast longe tyme ynow	236
[¹ odd, this! If he 'does it no longer,' why should he be scolded? ? Read 'that' for 'thogh' in 238.]	Folwed the feend / thogh thow no lenger do, ¹ Do by my reed / it shal be for thy prow : Flee fro the Feend / folwe tho Princes two !	240
	[31]	
[leaf 11]	Reward had, & consideracioun, Vn-to the dignitees of tho persones, Thow art of a scars reputacioun ! A froward herte / haast thow for the nones !	244
Bow and correct thyself!	Bowe & correcte thee / come of at ones ! Foule haast thow lost thy tyme many a day ! For thyn vnfeith / men maken many mones ;	
Return to God !	To god retourne / & with his feith dwelle ay !	248
	[32]	
	Thogh god the haue souffrid regue a whyle, Be nat to bold / be war of his vengeance ! He tarieth for thow sholdist reconsyle Thee to him / & leue thy mescreaunce.	252
Leave thy mis-belief!	Holsum to thee / now were a variaunce Fro the feend to our lord god / & fro vice Vn-to vertu, þat were his hy plesaunce, And his modres, man-kyndes mediatrice.	256
	[33]	
	Some of thy fetheres weren plukkid late, And mo shuln be / thow shalt it nat asterte ; Thow art nat wys / ageyne god to debate ! The flood of pryde / caste out of thyn herte !	260
Debate not against God!	Grace is a-lyue / to god thee conuerte ! Thow maist been his / if thee list him obeis ; If thow nat wilt so / sorrer shalt thow smerte, Than herte of man may thynke, or tonge seye !	264
	[34]	
[leaf 11, back] O Lord of all ! Inspire Oldcastle with Thy grace !	Almighty god / thow lord of al, and Syre, Withouten whom is no goodnesse wrought, This knyght, of thyn habundant grace enspyre !	

Remembre how deere / þat thow haast him boght ! 268
 He is thyn handwerke / lord ! refuse him noght,
 Thogh he thee haue agilt outrageously /
 Thow þat for mercy deidest, change his thoght !
 Benigne lord, enable him to mercy !

He is thy handi-
work.

272 Fit him for
mercy !

[35]

Yee þat peruerterd him / yee folke dampnable !
 Yee heretikes þat han him betrayed,
 That manly was / worthy & honorable,
 Or þat he hadde of your venym assayed,
 I doute it nat / your wages shal be payed
 Sharply / but yee correcte your trespas,
 In your fals error / shul yee been outrayed,
 And been enhabited with Sathanas.

Ye Heretikes that
misled this
Knight,

276

280 ye shall go to
Hell !

[36]

Yee, with your sly coloured argumentes
 Which þat contenen nothyng but falshode,
 Han, in this Knyght, put so feendly ententes,
 þat he is ouercharged with the lode
 Which yee han leid on his good old knyghthode,
 That now 'a wrecchid knyght' men calle may.
 The lak' of feith / hath qwenchid his manhode ;
 His force ageyn god / naght is at assay.

Ye have quencht

284

his manhood.

288

[37]

' Prynce of preestes ' / our lige lord yee calle
 In scorn / but it is a style of honour :
 Auctoritee of Preest excedith alle
 Eerthely powers / thogh it seeme sour
 To the taast of your detestable error.
 They þat in the feith been constaunt & sad,
 In seint Petres wordes han good fauour,
 And fayn been to fullfille þat he bad.

[leaf 12]

Ye call the King
' Prince of
Priests.'
But Priests are
abey him.

292

296

[38]

Alle eerthely Princes and othir men,
 Bysshops to obeie / commandid he.
 Yee han no ground to holde ther ayen :

Earthly Princes
must obey
Bishops.

Spiritual thynges
ar abau temporel.

Spirituel thynges / passe in dignitee 300
Alle the thynges temporel þat be,
As moche as dooth the soule the body.
In the scriptures, serche / & yee shul see
þat it no lees at al is hardily. 304

[39]

The Sun and
Moon

Two lightes, god made in the firmament
Of heuene / a more made he, & a lesse ;
The gretter light, to the day hath he lent,
It for to serue in his cleer brightnesse; 308
The smaller, to the nyght in soothfastnesse
He lente also / to helpe it with his light.

betoken Papal
authority, and
Kingly.

Two dignitees they tokenen in liknesse :
Auctoritee papal, and kynges might. 312

[40]

[leaf 12, back]

As Sun to Moon,
so is Pope to
King.

Looke, how moche & how greet dyuersitee
Betwixt the sonne ther is, & the moone :
So moche is a popes auctoritee
Aboue a kynges might / good is to doone 316
þat yee aryse out of your errour soone,
þat there-in walwid han / goon is ful yore.
And but yee do / god, I byseeche a boone,
þat in the fyr yee feelee may the sore ! 320

If ye'll not be-
liev it, I hope ye
may be burnt !

[41]

Yee þat nat sette by preestes power,
'Crystes Rebels, & foos' men may you calle.
Yee waden in presumpcioun to fer !
Your soules to the feend, yee foule thralls ! 324
Yee seyn, 'a preest in deedly synne falle,
If he so go to messe / he may nat make
Crystes body' / falsly yee erren alle,
þat holden so / to deepe yee ransake ! 328

Ye say 'a sinful
priest can't make
Christ's body.'

[42]

He can.

As wel may a preest þat is vicious,
þat precious body make, day by day,
As may a preest / þat is ful vertuous ;

But waar the preest / his soule it hurte may, 332
 And shal, but he be cleene : it is no nay.
 Be what he be / the preest is instrument
 Of god / thurgh whos wordes / trustith this ay,
 The preest makith the blessid sacrament. 336

The Priest is only
 an instrument to
 make the Body.

[43]

Yee medle of al thyng / yee moot shoo the goos : [leaf 13]
 How knowen yee what lyf a man is ynne?
 Your fals conceites renne aboute loos!
 If a preest synful be, & fro god twynne, 340
 Thurgh penitence he may ageyn god wyne.
 No wight may cleerly knowen it or gesse,
 þat any preest, beyng in deedly synne,
 For awe of god, dar to the messe him dresse. 344

Besides, no one
 can know that
 a Priest in sin
 dare perform
 Mass.

[44]

Yee seyn also 'ther sholde be no pope,
 But he the beste preest were vp-on lyue.'
 O! wher-to graspen yee so fer, and grope
 Aftir swich thyng / yee mowe it neuere dryue 348
 To the knowleche / nothyng there-of stryue!
 Medle nat ther with / let al swich thyng passe!
 For if þat yee do / shul yee neuere thryue;
 Yee been ther-in as lewde as is an asse! 352

Ye say that 'only
 the best Priest
 should be Pope.'

Ye are asses!

[45]

Many man outward / seemeth wondir good,
 And inward is he wondir fer ther-fro :
 No man be Iuge of þat / but he be wood :
 To god longith þat knowleche, & no mo. 356
 Thogh he be right synful / sooth is also,
 The hy power þat is to him committid,
 As large as petres is / it is right so :
 Amonges feithful folk' / this is admittid. 360

God alone can
 judge what a man
 is.

The Pope's power
 is as great as
 Peter's.

[46]

What is the lawe the werse of nature,
 If þat a Iuge vse it nat aright?
 No thyng / god wot / auyse him þat the cure [M. 12, bk]

Ther-of hath take / looke he do but right ; 364
 Waar / þat he nat stonde in his owne light !
 Good is, þat he his soule keepe & saue.
 Put your false Your fals conceites, puttith to the flight,
 opinions to fight ! I rede / and Crystes mercy, axe & haue ! 368

[47]

Yee þat pretenden folwers for to be
 Of Crystes disciples / nat lyue sholde
 Se lve in lust, After the fleshly lustes / as doon yee
 and care not þat rekken nat / whos wyf yee take & holde : 372
 whose wife ye take,
 Swich lyf / the disciples nat lyue wolde,
 For cursid is the synne of aduoutrie ;
 But yee ther-in, so hardy been & bolde,
 þat yee no synne it holden, ne folia. 376

[48]

If yee so holy been as yee witnesse
 Of your self : thanne in Crystes feith abyde !
 Christ's disciples The disciples of Cryst had hardynesse
 faced death boldly. For to appeere / they nat wolde hem hyde 380
 For fere of deeth / but in his cause dyde.
 They fledden nat to halkes ne to hernes,
 Ye hide in corners. As yee doon / þat holden the feendes syde,
 Whiche arm of dirknesse the lanternes. 384

[49]

Ne neuere they in forcible maneere
 With wepnes roos / to slee folk, & assaille,
 [leaf 14] They never rioted
 as ye did of late. As yee diden late in this contree heere,
 (at the Rising in St. Giles's Fields,
 in Jan. 1414.) Ageyn the King, stryf to rere, & bataille. 388
 Blessid be god / of your purpos yee faille,
 And faille shuln / yee shuln nat foorth ther with !
 Yee broken meynes / yee wrecchid rascaille
 Been al to weyke / yee han ther-to no pith ! 392

[50]

Also yee holden ageyn pilgrimages,
 Whiche arm ful goode / if þat folk wel hem vse ;
 You object to Pilgrimages and Images.
 And eeks ageyns the makynge of ymages.

What / al is nat worth þat yee clappe & muse. 396

How can yee, by reson, your self excuse

þat yee nat erren / whan yee folk' excite

Ye excite folk to vice.

To vice / and stire hem, vertu to refuse !

Waar goddes strook' / it peisith nat a lyte. 400

[51]

For to visite seintes / is vertu,

Visiting Shrines is meritorious,

If þat it doon be for deuocioun ;

And elles / good is, be ther-of eschu.

Meede wirkith in good entencioun. 404

Be cleene of lyf / & be in orisoun !

Of synne, talke nat in thy viage !

If ye behave well.

Let vertu gyde thee / fro toun to toun !

And so to man / profitith pilgrimage. 408

[52]

And to holde ageyn ymages makynge,

[12. 14. bk.]

(Be they maad in entaille or in peynture,)

Images stir up good thoughts, and make men honour Saints, not worship them.

Is greet errour / for they yeuen stiryng

Of thoghtes goode / and causen men honure 412

The seint / after whom / maad is that figure,

And nat worsshippe it / how gay it be wroght.

For this knowith wel euery creature

þat reson hath / þat a seint is it noght. 416

[53]

Right as a spectacle helpith feeble sighte,

Images help us to pray, as Spectacles help us to read.

Whan a man on the book' redith or writ,

And causith him to see bet than he mighte,

In which spectacle / his sighte nat abit, 420

But gooth thurgh / & on the book restith it :

The same may men of ymages seye,

Thogh the ymage nat the seint be / yit

The sighte vs myngith to the seint to preye. 424

[54]

Ageyn possessions / yee holden eeke,

Ye object to the Church holding property.

Of holy chirche / & that is eeke errour :

Your inward ye / is ful of smoke & reeke !

But Christ, while
on earth, had
Purses.

While heere on eerthe / was our Sauueour, 428
Whom Angels diden seruice & honour,
Purses had he / why? for his chirche sholde
So haue eek' aftir / as seith mine Auctour :
Yee goon al mis / al is wrong / þat yee holde ! 432

[55]

[leaf 15]

Iustinian Emperour had swich cheertee
To holy chirche / as þat seith the scripture,
þat of goodes how large or greet plentee
It hadde of yifte of any creature? 436
Him thoghþe it youe in the best mesure
þat mighte been / his herte it loued so.

What right have
ye to take from
the Church what
ye never gave?

Yee neuere yaf hem good, per auenture :
What title han yee / aght for to take hem fro? 440

[56]

Why should the
Church be spolld?

And if yee had aght youe hem or this tyme,
Standynge in the feith / as yee oghþen stonde,
Sholden they now / for your change & your cryme,
Despoillid been of þat they haue in honde? 444
Nay / þat no skile is / yee shul vndirstonde,
They nyght and day labouren in prayeere
For hem that so yaf / styntith, and not fonde
To do so? for first boght wole it be deere. 448

[57]

Ye say ' Property
ought to be com-
mon.'

But it oughtn't to
be made so by
violence.

Presumpcion of wit, and ydilnesse,
And couetyse of good / tho vices three
Been cause of al your ydil bysynesse.
¶ Yee seyn eeke : ' goodes, commune oghþen be : ' 452
þat ment is, in tyme of necessitee,
But nat by violence or by maistrie,
My good to take of me / or I of thee,
For þat is verray wrong & robberie. 456

[58]

[ff. 15, bk.]

Ye only want to
plunder.

If þat a man the soothe telle shal,
How þat your hertes in this cas been set,
For to ryfle, is your entente final ;

Yee han be bisy longe / aboute a net, 460

And fayn wolde han it in the watir wet,

The fissh to take / which yee han purposid.

But god and our lord lige hath yow let !

It nis, ne shal been / as yee han supposid. 464

But God and the
King hav stopp
you.

[59]

Men seyn 'yee purpose hastily appeere,

The worm for to sleen in the pesecod :'

Come on / whan yow list / yee shul reewe it deere !

The feend is your cheef / & our heed is god ! 468

Fight when you
will, we shall beat
you.

Thogh we had in oure handes / but a clod

Of eerthe / at your heedes to slynge or caste,

Were wepne ynow / or a smal twig or rod ;

The feith of Cryst / stikith in vs so faste ! 472

[60]

We dreden nat / we han greet auantage,

Whethir we lyue / or elles slayn be we,

In Crystes feith / for vp to heuenes stage,

If we so die / our soules lift shul be ;

And on þat othir part / yee feendes / yee

In the dirke halke of Helle shul descende !

And yit with vs abit this charitee,

Our desir is / þat yee yow wolde amende. 480

We shall go to
Heaven.
Ye to Hell !

[61]

Yee holden many an othir error mo

Then may be writen in a litil space,

But lak' of leisir me commandith ho.

Almighty god / byseeche I of his grace

Enable yow to seen his blessid face,

Which þat is o god / & persones three.

Remembre yow / heuene is a miry place,

And helle is ful of sharp aduersitee. 488

[leaf 16]

484 Yet, I pray God to
save you.

[62]

Yit, Oldcastel / for him þat his blood shadde

Vp on the crois / to his feith torne agayn !

Forget nat the loue / he to vs hadde,

Oldcastle !
Turn again to
Christ's faith !

	þat blisful lord / þat for alle vs / was slayn !	492
Turn not thy brain against the Faith !	From hennes forward / trouble nat thy brayn As thow hast doon, ageyn the feith ful sore ! Cryst, of thy soule / glad be wolde, & fayn : Retourne knyghtly now vn-to his lore !	496
	[63]	
Repent !	Repente thee / and with him make accord ! Conquere meryt and honour / let see, Looke how our cristen Prince, our lige lord, With many a lord & knyght beyond the See,	500
Why art thou not fighting in France by King Henry's side ? Shame on thee !	Laboure in armes / & thow hydest thee ! And darst nat come / & shewe thy visage ! O, fy ! for shame / how can a knyght be Out of thonur of this rial viage !	504
	[64]	
[leaf 16, bk.] Once, Oldcastle was in every fray.	Sum tyme was no knyghtly turn no where, Ne no manhode shewid in no wyse, But Oldcastel wolde, his thankes, be there.	
How has the Devil changed thee !	How hath the cursid fiend changid thy gyse ! Flee from him ! and alle his wirkes despyse ! And þat y-doon, vn-to our cristen kyng	508
Humble thee to our King !	Thee hie as faste / as þat thow canst dyuyse, And humble eeke thee to him / for any thyng ! Cest tout.	512

[III.]

Cy ensuyt la male regle de T. Hoccleur.

[Against his ill-regulated life: eating and drinking to excess for 20 years (l. 109—112); treating and kissing girls, l. 145—160; (He confesses his cowardice in l. 169—176;) drinking in Taverns at Westminster, l. 179; (tho' still young—say 35—l. 209) going on the river, l. 190—208, and this mainly with borrowd money, l. 369—371.

Final *ē* kept up. Double vowel for tone, 'haast, aart, paart,' &c., and to give the liquid *u*, *treewe*; *ou* used for other *u*, *souffyse*, &c., *souffre*; *nat* for not, as always.]

[In 5-measure eights, *abab*, *bcbc*. Printed by G. Mason.]

[1]

O precious tresor incomparable!

[leaf 16, back]

O ground & roote of prosperitee!

O Health,

O excellent richesse commendable

Abouen alle / þat in eerthe be!

4

Who may susteene thyn aduersitee?

What wight may him avante of worldly welthe,

who can have
wealth without
thee?

But if he fully stande in grace of thee,

Erthely god / piler of lyf / thow helthe!

8

[2]

Whil thy power / and excellent vigour

9

(As was plesant vn-to thy worthynesse)

[leaf 17]
When I had thee,

Regned in me / & was my *gouvernour*,

Than was I wel / tho felte I no duresse,

12

Tho farsid was I with hertes gladnesse;

I was glad.

And now my body empty is, & bare

Now am I joyless.

Of ioie / and ful of seekly heuynesse,

Al poore of ese / & ryche of euel fare!

16

[3]

If þat thy fauour twynne from a wight!

17

Smal is his ese / & greet is his greuance!

Thy loue / is lyf / thyn hate sleeth down right!

I have lost Health,	Who may compleyne thy disseuerance	20
	Better than I, þat, of myn ignorance,	
	Vn-to seeknesse am knyht / thy mortel fo.	
and I know what penance is.	Now can I knowe feeste fro penance ;	
	And whil I was with thee / kowde I nat so.	24
	[4]	
I suffer daily	My grief and biay smert cotidian	25
	So me labouren & tormenten sore,	
	þat what thow art now / wel remembre I can,	
	And what fruyt is in keepynge of thy lore.	28
	Had I thy power knowen or this yore,	
	As now thy fo compellith me to knowe,	
	Nat sholde his lym han cleued to my gore,	
	For al his aart / ne han me broght thus lowe.	32
	[5]	
[leaf 17, back]	But I haue herd men seye longe ago,	33
	'Prosperitee is blynd / & see ne may' :	
	And verifie I can wel / it is so ;	
	For I my self put haue it in assay.	36
	Whan I was weel / kowde I considere it? nay !	
	But what / me longed aftir nouelrie,	
	As yeeres yonge yernen day by day ;	
for my past folly.	And now my smert accusith my folie.	40
	[6]	
In youth I knew not what it was to lose Health.	Myn vnwar yowthe kneew nat what it wroghte,	41
	This woot I wel / whan fro thee twynned shee ;	
	But of hir ignorance hir self shee soghte,	
	And kneew nat þat shee dwellyng was with thee ;	44
	For to a wight were it greet nycetee	
	His lord or freend wityngly for toffende,	
	Lest þat the weighte of his aduersitee	
	The fool oppresse / & make of him an ende.	48
	[7]	
	From hennes foorth wole I do reuerence	49
	Vn-to thy name / & holde of thee in cheef,	
	And werre make, & sharp resistance	

- Ageyn thy fo & myn, þat cruel theef, 52
 þat vndir foote / me halt in mescheef,
 So thow me to thy grace reconcyle.
 O now thyn help / thy socour and releef !
 And I for ay / mis reule wole exyle. 56
- Help me, O
Health ; and I'll
give up my rule.
- [8]
- But thy mercy excede myn offense / 57
 The keene assautes of thyn aduersarie
 Me wole oppresse with hir violence.
 No wondir / thogh thow be to me contrarie ; 60
 My lustes blynde han causid thee to varie
 Fro me / thurgh my folie & inpudence ;
 Wherefore / I, wrecche / curse may & warie
 The seed and fruyt of chyldly sapience. 64
- [9]
- As for the more paart / youthe is rebel 65
 Vn-to reson / & hatith her doctryne,
 Regnynge which / it may nat stande wel
 With yowthe / as fer as wit can ymagyne. 68
 O / yowthe / allas / why wilt thow nat enclyne,
 And vn-to reuled reform bowe thee ?
 Syn resoun is the verray streight lyne
 þat ledith folk / vn-to felicitee. 72
- [10]
- Ful seelde is scen / þat yowthe takith heede 73
 Of perils þat been likly for to fall ;
 For, haue he take a purpos / þat moot nede
 Been execut / no conseil wole he call ; 76
 His owne wit, he demeth best of all ;
 And fourth ther-with / he renneth brydillees,
 As he þat nat betwixt hony and gall
 Can iuge / ne the werre fro the peas. 80
- [11]
- All othir mennes wittes he despisith ; 81
 They answeren no thyng to his entente ;
 His rakel wit only to him souffysith ;
- [leaf 15]
- My blind lusts hav
driven thee away.
- Why will not
Youth bow to
Rule ?
- Youth will hav its
own way.
- [leaf 16, back]

	His hy presumpcioun, nat list consente To doon as þat Salomon wroot & mente, þat redde men by conseil for to werke : Now, youthe, now / thow sore shalt repente Thy lightlees wittes duht, of reson derke !	84
	[12]	
My friends warnd me against my miarule.	My freendes seiden vn-to me ful ofte, My mis reule me cause wolde a fit ; And redden me, in esy wyse & softe, A lyte and lyte to withdrawen it ; But þat nat mighte synke in-to my wit, So was the lust y-rootid in myn herte.	89
And now I'm ripe for the grave.	And now I am so rype vn-to my pit, þat scarcely I may it nat asterte.	92
	[13]	
	Who-so cleer yen hath, & can nat see, Ful smal, of ye, auaillith the office / ¶ Right so / syn reson youen is to me For to discerne a vertu from a vice, If I nat can with resoun me cheuice, But wilfully fro reson me withdrawe, Thogh I of hir haue no benefice, No wondir / ne no fauour in hir lawe.	96
	[14]	
[leaf 19] Reason bade me eat and drink moderately.	Reson me bad / & redde as for the beste, To ete and drynke in tyme attemprely ; But wilful youthe nat obeie leste Vn-to þat reed / ne sette nat ther-by. I take haue of hem bothe outrageously And out of tyme / nat two year or three,	100
But for 30 years I've livd in excess.	But .xx. ^u wyntir past continually, Excesse at borde hath leyd his knyf with me.	104
	[15]	
	The custume of my repleet abstinence, My greedy mowth, Receite of swich outrage, And hondes two / as woot my negligence,	105
		108
		112
		113

- Thus han me gyded / & broght in seruage 116
 Of hire þat werreith euery age,
 Seeknesse, y meene, riotoures whippe,
 Habundantly þat paieth me my wage,
 So þat me neithir daunce list, ne skippe. 120
 [16]
- The outward signe of Bachus & his lure, 121
 þat at his dore hangith day by day /
 Excitith folk' / to taaste of his moisture
 So often / þat man can nat wel seyn nay. 124
 For me, I seye / I was enclyned ay
 With-uten daunger thidir for to hye me,
 But if swich charge / vp on my bake lay,
 That I moot it forbere / as for a tyme ; 128
 [17]
- Or but I were nakidly bystad 129 (leaf 19, back)
 By force of the penylees maladie,
 For thanne in herte kowde I nat be glad,
 Ne lust had noon to Bachus hows to hie. 132
 Fy ! Lak of coyn / departith conpaignie,
 And heuy purs, with herte liberal,
 Qwenchith the thirsty hete of hertes drie,
 Wher chynchy herte / hath ther-of but smal. 136
 [18]
- I dar nat telle / how þat the fresshe repeir 137
 Of venus femel lusty children deere,
 þat so goodly / so shaply were, and feir,
 And so plesant of port & of maneere, 140
 And feede cowden al a world with cheere,
 And of atyr passyngly wel byseye,
 At Poules heed me maden ofte appeere,
 To talke of mirth / & to disporte & pleye. 144
 [19]
- Ther was sweet wyn ynow thurgh-out the hous, 145
 And wafres thikke / for this conpaignie
 þat I spak of / been sumwhat likerous,

And now, Sicknesse
has hold of me.

I haunted Wine-
houses, and
drank,

(leaf 19, back)
saw when I was
peniless.

I went after pretty
girls

at the Paul's Head
Tavern,

and treated em to
wine and wafers.

- Where as they mowe a draght of wyn espie, 148
 Sweete / and in wirkyng hoot for the maistrie
 To warme a stomak' with / ther-of they dranka.
 To suffre hem paie, had been no courtesie :
 That charge I took / to wynne loue & thanks. 152
 [20]
- [leaf 20] Of loues aart / yit touchid I no deel ; 153
 I cowde nat / & eek it was no neede :
 Had I a kus / I was content ful weel,
 Better than I wolde han be with the deede : 156
 Ther-on can I but smal ; it is no dreede :
 Whan þat men speke of it in my presenca,
 For shame I wexe as reed as is the gleeda.
 Now wole I torne ageyn to my sentence. 160
 [21]
- Drinking wastes Of him þat hauntith tauerne of custume, 161
 At shorte wordes / the profyt is this :
 your money, and In double wyse / his bagge it shal consume,
 makes you talk And make his tonge speke of folk' amis ; 164
 scandal.
 For in the cuppe / seelden fownden is,
 þat any wight his neigheburgh commendith.
 Beholde & see / what auantage is his,
 þat god / his freend / & eek' him self, offendith. 168
 [22]
- But oon auantage / in this cas I haue : 169
 I was so ferd / with any man to fighte,
 Cloos kepte I me / no man durste I depraue
 But rownyngly / I spak no thyng on highte. 172
 And yit my wil was good / if þat I mighte,
 For lettyng of my manly cowardyse,
 þat ay of strookes impressid the wighte,
 So þat I durste medlen in no wyse. 176
 [23]
- [leaf 20, back] Wher was a gretter maister eek' than y, 177
 Who was better Or bet aqweyntid at Westmynstre yate,
 among Taverners Among the tauerneres namely,

And Cookes / whan I cam / eerly or late!
I pynchid nat at hem in myn acate,
But paied hem / as þat they axe wolde ;
Wherfore I was the welcomere algate,
And for 'a verray gentil man' y-holde.

[24]

And if it happid on the Someres day
þat I thus at the tauerne hadde be,
Whan I departe sholde / & go my way
Hoom to the priuce seel / so wowed me
Heete & vnlust and superfluitee
To walke vn-to the brigge / & take a boot /
þat nat durste I contrarie hem all three,
But dide as þat they stired me / god woot.

[25]

And in the wyntir / for the way was deep,
Vn-to the brigge I dressid me also,
And ther the bootmen took vp-on me keep,
For they my riot kneewen fern ago :
With hem was I I-tugged to and fro,
So wel was him / þat I with wolde fare ;
For riot paieth largely / eueremo ;
He styntith neuere / til his purs be bare.

[26]

Othir than 'maistir' / callid was I neuere,
Among this meynee, in myn audience.
Me thoghte / I was y-maad a man for euere :
So tikelid me þat nyce reuerence,
þat it me made larger' of despense
Than þat I thoght han been / o flaterie !
The guyse of thy traiterous diligence
Is, folk to mescheef haasten / & to hie.

[27]

Al be it þat my yeeres be but yonge /
Yit haue I seen in folk' of hy degree,
How þat the venym of faueles tonge

180 and Cooke at
Westminster
Gate ?
I paid freely, and
was held 'A
regular Gentle-
man !'
184

185
And after drink-
ing and feeding,
instead of going
to work at the
188 Privy-Seal Office,

I'd take a boat.

192

193

In winter too, I'd
have a boat,

196

and the Boatmen
fought for me, as
I paid well.

200

201

[leaf 21]
These fellows
always cald me
"Master," and
that tickled my
204 vanity, and made
me pay em
largely.

208

209

- Flattery's tongue
has ruind many
folk!
- Hath mortified hir prosperitee,
And broght hem in so sharp aduersitee
þat it hir lyf hath also throwe a-doun.
And yit ther can no man in this contree
Vnnethe eschue this confusioun. 212
- [28]
- Many a seruant / vn-to his lord seith,
'þat al the world spekith of him honour,'
Whan the contrarie of þat / is sooth in feith:
And lightly leeued is this losengeour : 216
- Servants flatter
and lie to their
lords.
- His hony wordes / wrappid in errorr,
Blyndly conceyued been / the more harm is !
O ! thow, fauele, of leasynges Auctour,
Causist al day / thy lord to fare amis ! 217
- [29]
- Tho combreworldes clept been 'échantours'
In bookes / as þat I haue, or this, red,
That is to seye, sotil deceyuours,
By whom the peple is mis gyed & led, 220
- [leaf 21, back]
Flatterers are
'Enchanters' or
Deceivers.
- And with plesance so fostred and fed,
þat they forgete hem self, & can nat feele
The soothe of the condicion in hem brod,
No more / than hir wit were in hire heele. 224
- [30]
- ¶ Who-so þat list in 'the book' of nature
Of beestes' rede / ther-in he may see
(If he take heede vn-to the scripture,) 225
- Where it spekith of meermaides in the See,
How þat so inly mirie syngith shee,
þat the shipman ther-with fallith a sleepe,
And by hir' aftir deuoured is he : 226
- From al which song, is good, men hem to keepe. 240
- [31]
- Right so the feyned wordes of plesance
Annoyen aftir / thogh they plesse a tyme
To hem þat been vnwyse of gouernance, 241
- Read in the Book
of the Nature of
Beasts, how Mer-
maids entice and
devour Shipmen !

Lordes ! beeth waar / Let nat fauel yow lyme ! 244 Don't let Flattery
 If þat yee been enuolupid in cryme,
 Yee may nat deeme / men speke of yow weel,
 Thogh fauel peynte hir tale in prose or ryme :
 Ful holsum is it / truste hir nat a deel. 248

[32]

¶ Holcote seith vp-on the book' also 249 [leaf 22]
 Of sapience / as it can testifie,
 Whan þat Vlixes saillid to and fro
 By meermaides / this was his policie, 252 Holkot, in his
 Alle eres of men of his compaignie, Ulysses stopt his
 With wex he stoppe leet / for þat they noght men's ears against
 Hir song sholde heere / lest the armonye the Mermaide's
 Hem mighte vn-to swich deedly sleep han broght, 256 song,

[33]

And bond him self / vn-to the shippes mast : 257 and bound himself
 Lo ! thus hem alle, saued his prudence. to the ship's mast.
 The wys man is, of peril sore agast.
 O flaterie ! o lurkyng pestilence ! 260
 If sum man dide his cure & diligence
 To stoppe his eres fro thy poesie,
 And nat wolde herkne a word of thy sentence,
 Vn-to his greef it were a remedie. 264 So should men
 stop their ears
 against Flattery.

[34]

As nay / al thogh thy tonge were ago, 265
 Yit canst thou glose in contenance & cheere ;
 Thow supportist with lookes eueremo
 Thy lordes wordes in eche mateere, 268 Flatterers support
 all their lord's bad
 words.
 Al-thogh þat they a myte be to deere ;
 And thus thy gyse is priuee and appert
 With word and look' / among our lordes heere
 Preferred be / thogh ther be no dissert. 272

[35]

But whan the sobre / treewe, & weel auysid, 273 [leaf 22, back]
 With sad visage his lord enfourmeth pleyn,
 How þat his gouernance is despysid
 And when good
 advisers

tell their lord	Among the peple / & seith him as they seyn,	276
	As man treewe oghte vn-to his souereyn,	
to amend his goings-on, he bids them leave.	Conseillynge him amende his gouernance,	
	The lordes herte swellith for desdeyn,	
	And bit him voide blyue with meschaunce.	280
	[36]	
	Men setten nat by trouthe now adayes ;	281
	Men loue it nat / men wole it nat cherice ;	
	And yit is trouthe best at all assayes.	
	When þat fals fauel, soustenour of vice,	284
	Nat wite shal how hire to cheuyce,	
	Ful boldely shal trouthe hir heed vp bere.	
Let not Flattery nestle in your ears !	Lordes, lest fauel / yow fro wele tryce,	
	No lenger souffre hir nestlen in your ere !	288
	[37]	
	¶ Be as be may / no more of this as now ;	289
	But to my mis reule wole I refeere.	
	Wher as I was at ese weel ynow,	
Before I liuid in excesse, I was fairly off : now I am poor.	Or excesse vn-to me leef was, & deere,	292
	And, or I kneew his earnestful maneere,	
	My purs, of coyn had resonable wone ;	
	But now, ther-in can ther but scant appeere :	
	Excesse hath ny exyled hem echone.	296
	[38]	
[leaf 25] Excesse is the Devil,	The feend and excesse been conuertible,	297
	As enditith to me my fantasie :	
	This is my skile / if it be admittible :	
	Excesse of mete & drynke is glotonye ;	300
	Glotonye awakith malencolie ;	
	Malencolie engendrith werre & stryfe ;	
	Stryf causith mortel hurt thurgh hir folie :	
and kills the soule.	Thus may excesse reue a soule hir lyfa.	304
	[39]	
	¶ No force of al this / go we now to wacche	305
	By nightirtale / out of al mesure ;	
	For as in þat / fynde kowde I no macche	

- In al the priues seel with me to endure ; 308 No one in the
And to the cuppe ay took I heede & cure, Privy-Seal Office
For þat the drynke apalle sholde noght. sat up drinking
But whan the pot emptid was of moisture, at night, like I,
To wake aftirward / can nat in my thoght. 312
- [40]
- But whan the cuppe had thus my neede sped, 313
And sumdel more than necessitee,
With repleet spirit wente I to my bed,
And bathid there in superfluitee. 316
But on the morn / was wight of no degree
So looth as I / to twynne fro my cowche :
By sight I woot / abyde / let me see !
Of two / as looth / I am seur, kowde I towche. 320
- [41]
- I dar nat seyn Prentys and Arondel 321 [leaf 23, back]
Me countrefete, & in swich wach go ny me ; tho' my fellow-
But often they hir bed louen so wel, clerks, Prentys
þat of the day / it drawith ny the pryme, and Arondel, often
Or they ryse vp / nat tell I can the tyme lay in bed till
Whan they to bedde goon / it is so late. 324 9 a.m.
O helthe, lord / thow seest hem in þat cryme !
And yit thee looth is / with hem to debate. 328 But Health has
not left them
- [42]
- And why / I not / it sit nat vn-to me, 329
þat mirour am of riot & excesse,
To knowen of a goddes pryuetee ;
But thus I ymagyne / and thus I gesse : 332
Thow meeued art, of tendre gentillesse,
Hem to forbere / and wilt hem nat chastyse,
For they, in merthe and vertuous gladnesse,
Lordes reconforten in sundry wyse. 336 because they
amuse Lords.
- [43]
- But to my purpos / syn þat my seeknesse, 337 Since illness has
As wel of purs as body, hath refreyned kept me from the
Me fro Tauerne / & othir wantonnesse, Tavern,

my name is despised.	Among an heep / my name is now desteyned, My grenous hurt ful litil is compleyned, But they, the lak' compleyne of my despense. Allas þat euere kny't I was, and cheyned To excesse / or him dide obedience.	340 344
	[44]	
[leaf 24]	Despenses large enhaunce a mannes loos Whil they endure / & whan they be forbore, His name is deed / men keepe hir mowthes cloos, As nat a peny had he spent tofore.	345 348
	My thank is qweynt / my purs, his stuf hath lore, And my Carkeis repleet with heuynesse.	
Hocceleue! Be moderate now!	Be waar, Hocceleue / I rede thee therfore, And to a mene reule / thow thee dresse!	352
	[45]	
	Who-so, passynge mesure, desyrith, (As þat witnessen olde Clerkes wyse,) Him self encombrith often sythe, & myrith;	353
Be satisfied with a middle course!	And for-thy let the mene thee souffyse. If swich a conceit in thyn herte ryse, As thy profyt may hyndre, or thy renoun, If it were execut in any wyse, With manly resoun thriste thow it down!	356 360
	[46]	
Thy rentes are scanty,	Thy rentes annuel / as thow wel woost, To scarce been, greet costes to susteene;	361
	And in thy cofre, pardee, is cold roost, And of thy manuel labour, as I weene,	364
thou earnest nothing.	Thy lucre is swich / þat it vnnethe is seene Ne felt / of yiftes seye I eek the same;	
	And stele, for the guerdoun is so keene, Ne darst thow nat / ne begge also for shame.	368
	[47]	
[leaf 24, back] Thou borrowedst much.	Than wolde it seeme / þat thow borwid haast Mochil of þat þat thow haast thus despent In outrage & excesse, and verray waast,	369

- Auyse thee / for what thyng þat is lent, 372
 Of verray right / moot hoom ageyn be sent ;
 Thow ther-in haast no perpetuitee.
 Thy dettes paie / lest þat thow be shent, Pay thy debts:
 And or þat thow ther-to compellid be. 376
- [48]
 Sum folk in this cas dreeden more offense 377
 Of man / for wyly wrenches of the lawe,
 Than he dooth, eithir god or conscience ;
 For by hem two, he settith nat [an] hawe. 380
 If thy conceit be swich / thow it withdrawe,
 I rede / and voide it clene out of thyn herte ;
 And first of god, and syn of man, haue awe,
 Lest þat they bothe / make thee to smerte. 384
- [49]
 Now lat this smert, warnynge to thee be ; 385
 And if thow maist heere-aftr be releued
 Of body and purs / so thow gye thee
 By wit / þat thow / no more thus be greened. 388
 What riot is / thow taasted haast, and preened ;
 The fyr / men seyn / he dreedith þat is brent ;
 And if thow do so / thow art wel y-meeued :
 Be now no lenger, fool / by myn assent ! 392
- [50]
 Ey / what is me / þat to my self, thus longe, 393
 Clappid haue I / I trowe þat I raue.
 A / nay / my poore purs / and peynes stronge
 Han artid me speke as I spoken haue. 396
- [51]
 Who-so him shapith, mercy for to craue,
 His lesson moot recorde in sundry wyse ;
 And whil my breeth may in my body waue,
 To recorde it / vnnethe I may souffyse. 400
- [51]
 ¶ O god ! o helthe ! vn-to thyn ordenance, 401
 Weleful lord / meekly submitte I me.
 I am contryt / & of ful repentance

Fear God, and the
law !

If thou recoverest,
live well,

and don't be a
fool !

[leaf 25]

My poverty and
pains make me
speak thus.

- þat euere I swymmed in swich nycetee 404
 As was displeaunt to thy deitee.
 O Health, be merciful to me! Now kythe on me thy mercy & thy grace!
 It sit a god, been of his grace free;
 Foryeue / & neuere wole I eft trespase! 408
 [52]
 My body and þat purs are both sick. My body and purs been at oones seeke; 409
 And for hem bothe / I to thyn hy noblesse,
 As humbly as þat I can · byseeke
 With herte vnfeyned / reewe on our distresse! 412
 Pitee haue of myn harmful heuynesse!
 Releue the repentant in disese!
 Despende on me a drope of thy largesse,
 Right in this wyse / if it thee lyke & plesse. 416
 [53]
 [leaf 25, back] ¶ Lo, lat my lord the Fourneval, I preye, 417
 Tell Lord Furnival, the Treasurer,
 To pay me my yearly £10, due last Michaelmas.
 I sink the arrears.
 My noble lord / þat now is tresoreer,
 From thyn Hynesse haue a tokne or tweye
 To paie me þat due is for this year 420
 Of my yeerly .x. li. in theschequeer,
 Nat but for Michel terme þat was last:
 [MS.] I dar nat speke a word of ferne yeer,
 Annus ille fuit annus restrictionis annuitatum
 So is my spirit symple and sore agast. 424
 [54]
 I kepte nat to be seen inportune 425
 In my pursuyte / I am ther-to ful looth;
 And yit þat gyse / ryf is, and commune
 Among the peple now, withouten ooth; 428
 As the shameles crauour wole / it gooth,
 For estaat real / can nat al day werne,
 But poore shamefast man ofte is wroth;
 I must learn to beg. Therfore, for to craue, moot I lerne. 432
 [55]
 The dumb man gets no land. The prouerbe is / 'the dounb man, no lond getith;'
 Who-so nat spekith / & with neede is bete,
 And, thurgh arghnesse / his owne self forgetith,

[2]

[leaf 26, back]	God dreede / & ficche in him your trust verray !	9
	Be clene in herte / & loue chastitee !	
Be just,	Be sobre / sad / iust / trouthe, obserue alway !	
	Good conseil take / & aftir it do yee !	12
	Be humble in goost / of your tonge attempree ;	
pitiful, and prudent !	Pitous & merciable in special ;	
	Prudent / debonaire, in mesure free ;	
	Nat ouer large / ne vn-to gold thral !	16

[3]

	Be to your liges also sheeld & wal !	17
	Keepe and deffende hem from aduersitee !	
	Hir wele and wo / in your grace lyth al.	
Govern with Law and Equity.	Gouerneth hem in lawe and equitee ;	20
	Conquere hir loue / & haue hem in cheertee !	
Be Holy Church's champion !	Be holy chirches Champions eek' ay ;	
	Susteene hir right / souffre no thyng doon be	
	In preiudice of hir, by no way !	24

[4]

Scilicet, ecclesiam sanctam.

Drive out heresy !	Strengthe your modir / in chacyng' away	25
	Therroure / which sones of iniquitee	
	Han sowe ageyn the feith / it is no nay,	
	Yee ther-to bownde been of duetee ;	28
	Your office is it / now, for your seurtee,	
	Souffreth nat Crystes feith to take a fal !	
	Vn-to his peple / and youres, cheerly see,	
	In conseruyng' of your estat real !	32

[5]

[leaf 27]	Syn god hath sent yow wit substancial,	33
	And kynges might / vertu, putte in assay !	
	And, lige lord / thogh my conceit be smal,	
	And nat my wordes peynte fressh and gay,	36
	But clappe and iangle forth, as dooth a iay,	
	Good wil to yow shal ther noon faille in me,	
I'll pray to God for you.	Byseechyng' vn-to god, þat, to his pay,	
	Yee may gouerne your hy dignitee.	40

[V. AND VI.]

**Cestes balades ensuivantes¹ feurent faites au
tresnoble Roy H. le quint, (que dieu par-
doint !) & au treshonorable compaignie
du Karter.**

[In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

T o yow, welles of honour and worthynesse, Our right cristen kyng / heir & Successour	O King, and
Vn-to Iustinians deuout tendrenesse	
In the feith of Ihesu, our Redemptour ;	4
And to yow, lordes of the garter / ' flour	Lords of the
Of Chivalrie' / as men yow clepe & calle ;	Garter,
The lord of vertu, and of grace Auctour,	
Graunte / the fruyt of your loos nat appalle !	8 may your praise never lessen !

[2]

O Lige lord, þat han eek the liknesse	9 [leaf 27, back]
Of Constantyn, thensaumple and the mirour	
To Princes alle, in loue & buxumnesse	
To holy chirche / o verray sustenour	12 O King, upholder
And piler of our feith, and werreyour	of our Faith
Ageyn the heresies bittir galle,	against Heresy,
Do foorth / do foorth / continue your socour !	
Holde vp Crystes Baner / lat it nat falle !	16 keep on your help !

[3]

This yle, or this, had been but hethenesse,	17 But for you, we
Nad been of your feith the force & vigour !	shoud hav been
And yit, this day, the feendes fikilnesse	hethens.
Weeneth fully to cacche a tyme & hour	20
To haue on vs, your liges, a sharp shour,	
And to his seruiture / vs knytte and thralle.	

¹ There are two Balades, of 4 stanzas each, under this heading.

	But ay we truste in yow our protectour ; On your constance we awayten alle.	24
	[4]	
O King, forbide	Commandith þat no wight haue hardynesse, (Our worthy kyng and cristen Emperour !)	25
open disputing about the Faith !	Of the feith to despute more or leese Openly among peple / where errour Spryngith al day / & engendrith rumour. Makith swich lawe / & for aght may befallē, Obserue it wel / ther-to been yee dettour. Dooth so / and god / in glorie shal yow stalle.	28
	[5] [VI. 1]	32
[leaf 28] Lords of the Gar- ter, slay Christ's foes !	Yee lordes eek shynylge in noble fame, To whiche approped is the maintenance Of Crystes cause ! In honour of his name Shoue on / & putte his foes to the outtraunce !	33
[MS.] ¶ quis Rex illam iusticiam jam portem tenet	God wolde so / so wolde eek your ligeance : To tho two prikkith yow your duetee : Who-so nat keepith this double obseruance, Of meryt & honour / nakid is he.	36
	[6] [VI. 2]	40
	Your style seith / þat yee been foes to shame. Now kythe of your feith / the perseuerance In which an heap of vs arn halt & lame . Our Cristen kyng of Engeland and France, And yee, my lordes, with your alliance, And othir feithful peple þat ther be, Truste I to god, shul qwenche al this nusanee, And this land sette in hy prosperitee.	41
Quench the nuisance of Herey !		44
	[7] [VI. 3]	48
	Conqueste of hy prowesse is for to tame The wylde woodnesse of this mescreance Right to the roote / rype yee þat saune ! Sleepē nat this / but for goddes plesance And his modres / & in signifiante þat yee been of saint Georges lineree,	49
Act at once !		52

Dooth him seruice and knyghtly obeissance !
 For Crystes cause is his / wel knowen yee ! 56
 [8] [VI. 4]
 Stif stande in þat / & yee shuln greeue & grame 57 [leaf 28, back]
 The fo to pees / & norice of distaunce ;
 That now is earnest / torne it in-to game ;
 Dampnable fro feith were variance ! 60 Heresy is
 Lord lige / & lordes, haue in remembraunce, damnable
 Lord of al is the blissid Trinitee,
 Of whos vertu / the mighty habundaunce
 Yow herte & strengthe in feithful vnitee ! Amen ! 64
 Cest tout.

[VII.]

Ad beatam Virginem.

[In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

Modir of lyf / o cause of al our welthe,
 Fyndere of grace and of our medecyne !
 Where-as an appil refte our lyf and helthe,
 And marie[de] vs vn-to ay lastyng pyne, 4 from the curse of
 As sones of perdicion and ruyne ; the apple
 That matrymoyne / thy virginitee
 Dissolued / & vnbownden hath, virgyne,
 And at our large / maad vs walke free ! 8 thou hast freed us.

[2]

O blissid be thou ! vessel of clenness,
 In whom our soules salue list habyte ! 9 [leaf 27]
 O tree of lyf / swetest of al swetnesse,
 In thy fruyt yeue vs grace to delyte !
 And thogh thy sone, cause haue vs to smyte 12 Tree of Life ! let
 us delight in thy
 fruits !

	For our giltes / yit our mediatrice, As thou hast euere doon / thou him excite Vn-to mercy / for þat is thyn office.	16
	[3]	
I am so staft with sin, that I fear thou wilt turn from me.	My soule is stuffid so with stynk' of synne, þat ay it dreedith beforn thee appeere, Lest for the filthe / which þat it is ynne, Thow torne away thy mercriable cheere, And deyne nat accepte my preyeere. And if my trespas heere / I nat confesse, How shal I doon / o Crystes modir deere Whan god shal iuge vs alle, more & lesse ?	17 20 24
	[4]	
Sin, why hast thou robbd me	O why, my synnes / why, my wikkidnesses, With your venym / my soule slayn, han yee, And put in it so desperat gastnesses, þat mercy may ne list beholde me ? Why oppressith your heuy aduersitee The hope of myn exaudicioun, And shame in yow, maad hath so large entree,	25 28
of the voice of Prayer ?	þat yee the vois me reue of orisoun ?	32
	[5]	
[leaf 29, back]	Allas thy shame, o thou filthy offense In the presence of shynynge holynesse ! O shenshipe of vnclene conscience In the beholdynge of purged clennesses ! O caitif soule inuolued in dirknesse ! What wilt thou do / where is thy remedie ? Who may thy mescheef and thy greef redresse, Syn of thy gilt / thou darst nat mercy crie ?	33 36 40
Where is the remedy of my caitiff soul ?		
	[6]	
	Lo ! blessid womman among wommen alle, Syn my spirit nat dar putte vp his bille, Thy grace ne thy mercy for to calle, But in his mazidnesse abydith stille, My thristy soule / drynke may hir fille	41 44

Of sorwe, and bathe in sorwe & heuynesse :
 Hir ferdful shame / hir shende wole, & spille,
 For to hir¹ helthe / nat shee dar¹ hir dresse.

48 I dare not seek
 my cure.

[7]

My synnes yernen þat thyn hy pitee
 Fully hem kneew / for hir curacioun ;
 But they lothen appeere beforn thee
 For hir cursid abhominacion.

49

O spryng and welle of our sauuacioun,
 My dirke soule of thy grace enlumyne,
 And keepe it fro the castigacioun
 That it disserued hath in helle pyne !

52

O Well of our Sal-
 vation, keep me
 out of Hell !

[8]

If I confesse myn iniquitee,
 Lady / þat I wroght haue in thy presence,
 Wilt thou me werne thy benignitee ?

57

[leaf 30]

If þat my gilt / & my dampnable offense
 Of giltes alle haue an excellence,

60

Lady, refuse me
 not thy grace !

Shal thy mercy be leese / than it oghte ?
 May nat thy mercy, with my gilt dispense,
 And pardon gete of þat þat it mis wroghte ?

64

[9]

The more þat my gilt passith mesure,
 And stynkith in thy sones sighte and thyn /
 The gretter neede hath it, of his cure

65

And of thyn help / wherfore, lady myn,
 My soule fro the net and fro thengyn
 Of him þat waytith it to slee / thou keepe !
 His sotil snares, and cacchyng twyn,
 In my memorie ficchid been ful deepe.

68

Keep me out of
 the Devil's net !

[10]

Lady / thyn help / nat wole I me despeire,
 For in myn herte fully I conceyue
 þat thou to heuene / art the laudre & sterre
 By which men clymben, blisse to receyue.

73

Thou art the stairs
 to Heaven !

76

¹ Why not 'dar shee nat' ?

	Despeir heer ^d -aftir shal me nat deceyue, þat I ne shal ay thee byseeche of grace.	
Lady, thy might can win me pardon!	Thy might, I woot wel, is my gilt to weyue, And of my trespas · pardoun me purchase.	80
	[11]	
[leaf 30, back]	Thow, Crystes modir / sholdest neuere han be, Ne had our synnes causid it certayn ; For why / it had be no necessitee But for thow qwikne shuldest vs agayn,	81
	þat for our gilt original wern slayn. Thow art his modir / wherfore I thee preye To saue me / haue thow no desdayn, þat of bountee & mercy art the keye !	84
Diedaln not to saue me!		88
	[12]	
	Euene as the moone / a mene is verrailly Betwixt vs and the sonne / of whom hir light Shee takith / & it vniuerselly Yeueth vn-to the world whan it is nyght ; In swich a wyse / god, thy sone right, The light of grace betook ^t vn-to thee, For to mynistre it vn-to euery wight þat ther-of list enlumyned to be.	89
Christ gave thee the light of Grace to lighten all folk with.		92
		96
	[13]	
	Thyn humble goost, & maydens chastitee, For our behoue han so mochil wroght In sundry wyse / as þat wel knowen we, þat thee to thanke / we souffyse noght.	97
Thou hast turnd a God of Ven- geance into a Lord of Mercy.	Thow hast vs vn-to swich a plyt I-broght, þat he, þat lord was sum tyme of vengeance, With his blood hath our synful soules boght, And is now lord of mercy & souffrance.	100
		104
	[14]	
[leaf 31]	Where is a streighter way vn-to man-kynde, To god, thy sone / our soules for to lede, Than where as þat we may thy sone fynde Reform his fadir, with his wowndes rede,	105
		108

And the before hem / mercy for to grede :
 Thy sone his body shewith al bybled ;
 And to thy sone also, thy maydenhede
 Shewith the pappes / wher-with he was fed.

Thou showest
 Christ thy pape,
 and he shows God
 His wounds to get
 us mercy.

112

[15]

O blessid Ihesu ! for thy modres loue ;
 And modir ! for the hy dileccion
 þat thou hast to thy sone in heuene aboue,
 Haueth me, bothe, in your proteccion !
 Plante in myn herte swich correccion,
 þat I, your grace / & your mercy may haue,
 And fully stande in youre affeccion,
 Or my body be clothid in his graue !

113 Christ and Mary,

116 protect me!

120

Cest tout.

[VIII.]

¶ Ceste balade ensugante feust faite tost
 apres que les osses du Roy Richard
 feurent apportez a Westmouster.

[A.D. 1413. In five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

Where-as þat this land wont was for to be
 Of sad byleeue & constant vnioñ ;
 And as þat holy chirche vs taghte / we
 With herte buxum lerned our lessou ;
 Now han we changid our condicioñ !
 Allas ! an heap of vs, the feith werreye ;
 We waden so deepe in presumpcion,
 þat vs nat deyneth vn-to god obeye.

[leaf 21, back]

4 We are no longer
 as of old, one in
 Faith !

8

[2]

We rekken nat thogh Crystes lore deye ;
 The feend hath maad vs dronke of the poison

9

Regne on vs yeeeres many a milioun !		
And where as þat men erren & forueye,	44	May Henry V. reign many million years!
Walkynge blyndly in the dirk aleye		
Of heresie / o lord god, preye I thee,		And God leaſt all Heretics to the Faith !
Enspire hem / þat no langer they foleie !		
To faithes path / hem lede thy pitee ! Amen !	48	

[IX.]

[Balade to my gracious Lord of York.]

[Father of Edward IV. about 1448 A.D.]

[In 5-measure nines, *aab, aab, bab.*]

[1]

Go, little pamphlet, and streight thee dresse		[leaf 32, back] Go, little pamphlet, to the Duke of York,
Vn-to the noble rootid gentillesse		
Of the myghty Prince of famous honour,	3	
My gracious lord of york' / to whos noblesse		
Me recommande with hertes humblesse,		
As he þat haue his grace & his fauour	6	
Fownden alway / for which I am dettour		
For him to preye / & so shal my symplesse		
Hertily do / vn-to my dethes hour.	9	

[2]

Remembre his worthynesse, I charge thee,	10	
How ones at London, desired he,		
Of me þat am his seruant / & shal ay,	12	who once at London sakt me to send him all the Balades I had.
To haue of my balades swich plentee		
As ther weren remeynyng vn-to me ;		
And for nat wole I ¹ / to his wil seyn nay,	15	
But fulfille it / as ferfoorth as I may,		
Be thow an owter ² of my nycetee,		
For my good lordes lust, and game, & play.	18	

¹ Again, why not 'I wole nat' ?
HOCCEVE, M.P.—L.

² outputter, vent.
B

[3]

- My lord, byseeke eek' in humble maneere, 19
 That he nat souffre thee for to appeere
 In thonurable sighte, or the presence, 21
 Of the noble Princesse & lady deere,
 My gracious lady / my good lordes feere, 24
 The mirour of wommanly excellence.
 Thy cheer' is naght / ne haast noon eloquence
 To moustre thee before hir' yen cleere :
 For myn honour / were holsum thyn absence. 27

[4]

- Yit ful fayn wolde I haue a messageer 28
 To recommande me, with herte enteer,
 To hir benigne & humble wommanhede ; 30
 And at the tyme / haue I noon othir heer
 But thee / & smal am I, for thee, the neer.
 And if thou do it nat / than shal þat dede 33
 Be left / & þat nat kepte I / out of drede.
 My Lord / nat I / shal haue of thee / poweer.
 Axe him a licence / vp on him crie & grede ! 36

[5]

- Whan þat thou hast thus doon / than aftirward 37
 Byseeche thou þat worthy Prince Edward,
 þat he thee leye apart / for what may tyde, 39
 Lest thee beholde my Maister Picard.
 I warne thee / þat it shal be ful hard
 For thee & me to halte on any syde, 42
 But he espie vs / yit no force / abyde !
 Let him looke on / his herte is to me ward
 So freendly / þat our shame wole he hyde. 45

[6]

- If þat I in my wrytynge foleye, 46
 As I do ofte, (I can it nat withseye,)
 Meetrynge amis / or speke vnfittingly, 48
 Or nat by iust peys / my sentences weye,
 And nat to the ordre of endytyng' obeye,

And my colours sette ofte sythe awry: 51

With al myn herte wole I buxumly,

It to amende and to correcte, him preye;

For vndir his correccioun stande y. 54

I'll correct it as
he tells me.

[7]

Thow foul book, vn-to my lord seye also, 55

þat pryde is vn-to me so greet a fo,

þat the spectacle, forbedith he me, 57

I'm too proud to
wear spectacles,

And hath y-doon of tyme yore ago;

And for my sighte blyue hastith me fro,

And lakkith þat þat sholde his confort be, 60

No wonder thogh thow haue no beautee.

Out vp-on pryde / causer' of my wo!

My sighte is hurt thurgh hir aduersitee. 63

and therefore
make faults.

[8]

Now ende I thus / the holy Trinitee, 64

And our lady / the blissid mayden free,

My lord & lady haue in gouernance! 66

May the Trinity
protect the Duke
and Duchesse!

And graunte hem ioie & hy prosperitee,

Nat to endure / oonly two yeer or thre,

But a .M.t! and if any plesance 69

Happe mighte, on my poore souffissance,

To his prowessse / & hir benignitee,

My lyues ioie it were, and sustenance! 72

Cest tout.

Fol. 25, Johannes Talbot, Dominus de Furnival, was first summoned to Parl^t 11 H. 4, and to many subsequent Parl^{ts} in that reign and the next . . . T. Tyrwhitt. [Note in MS.]

Balade to Duke of York, ff. 32 bk. Prince Edw^d (after, Edw. IV), not born till about 1442. If we suppose him 6 years old (and he could not be much less to be under the tuition of Maister Picard), this poem was written in 1448. [Note in MS.]

[X.]

Ad beatam Virginem.

(Generally call'd CHAUCER's "Mother of God.")

[In 5-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*]

[1]

Mother of God,	M odir of god / and virgyne vndeffouled !	1
	O blisful queene / of queenes Emperice !	
Pray to Christ for sinful me !	Preye for me / þat am in synne mowled,	
	To god thy sone / punyssh'er of vice,	
	þat of his mercy / thogh þat I be nyce,	5
	And negligent in keepyng of his lawe,	
	His hy mercy, my soule / vn-to him drawe.	7

[2]

Mother of Mercy !	M odir of mercy / wey of indulgence,	8
	þat of al vertu art superlatyf,	
	Sauer' of vs by thy beneuolence,	
	Humble lady / mayde / modir and wyf !	
	Causer of pees / feynter' of wo & stryf !	12
Present my prayer to thy Son !	My prayer' vn-to thy sone presente,	
	Syn for my gilt I fully me repente.	14

[3]

[leaf 34, back]	Benigne confort of vs wrecches alle !	15
Be with me at my death !	Be at myn endyng' / whan þat I shal deye	
	O welle of pitee / vn-to thee I calle ! ✓	
	Ful of swetnesse / helpe me to weye	
	Ageyn the feend / þat with his handes tweye,	19
	And his might, plukke wole / at the balance	
	To weye vs down / keepe vs from his nulance !	21

[4]

	And, for thow art ensauple of chastitee,	22
	And of virgynes / worsship and honour,	
	Among all wommen blessid thow be !	
Pray Christ to	Now speke and preye to our Sauueour,	25

þat he me sende swich grace & fauour,	26	qwench all lust in me!
þat al the hete of brennyng Leccherie		
He qwenche in me, blessid maiden Marie!	28	

[5]

O blessid lady / the cleer light of day!	29	
Temple of our lord / and roote of al goodnesse!		
þat by prayere wypest cleene away		
The filthes of our synful wikkidnesse,		
Thyn hand fourth putte / & helpe my distresse,	33	
And fro temptacioun deliure me		
Of wikkid thoght / thurgh thy benignitee,	35	Deliver me from wicked thoughts!

[6]

So þat the wil fulfild be of thy sone,	36	[leaf 35]
And þat of the holy goost he menlummye.		
Preye for vs, as ay hath be thy wone!		Pray for us, as thou art wont!
Lady / alle swiche emprises been thyne.		
Swich an aduocatrice, who can dyuine,	40	
As thow / right noon / our greenes to redresse:		
In thy refuyt is al our sikirnesse.	42	

[7]

Thow shapen art by goddes ordenance,	43	
Mene for vs, flour of humilitee:		
Ficche þat, lady, in thy remembraunce,		
Lest our fo, the feend, thurgh his sotiltee,		
þat in awayt lyth for to cacche me,	47	
Me ouercome with his treecherie.		
Vn-to my soules helthe thow me gye!	49	Guide me to my soul's health!

[8]

Thow art the way of our Redempcioun,	50	
For cryst of thee hath deyned for to take		
Flessh and eek blood / for this entencioun,		
Vp on a crois to die for our sake:		
His precious deeth made the feendes qwake,	54	
And cristen folk for to reioisen euere.		
From his mercy / helpe / vs we nat disseuere!	56	Let us not depart from His mercy!

[9]

[leaf 35, back]	Tendrely remembre on the wo & peyne	57
Remember thy woe at His Croas,	þat thow souffridist in his passioun,	
	Whan watir & blood, out of thyn yen tweyne,	
	For sorwe of him, ran by this cheekes down !	
	And syn thow knowest þat the enchesoun	61
and that He died to save mankind.	Of his deeth was / for to saue al man kynde,	
	Modir of mercy, þat haue in thy mynde !	63

[10]

	Wel oghten we thee worshiþe & honure,	64
	Paleys of Cryst / flour of virginitee !	
	Syn vp on thee / was leid the charge & cure,	
	The lord to bere, of heuene & eerthe & see,	
	And alle thynges þat ther ynne be.	68
	Of heuenes kyng, thow art predestinat	
Thou art destind to heal our Soules.	To hele our soules of hir seek estat.	70

[11]

Blessed be thy womb and teate !	Thy maidens wombe, in which our lord lay,	71
	Thy tetes / whiche him yaf to sowke also ✓	
	To our sauynge / be they blessid ay !	
	The birthe of Cryst / our thraldom putte vs fro,	
	Ioie & honour / be now & eueremo	75
	To him and thee / þat vn-to libertee,	
	Fro thraldam, han vs qwit / blessid be yee !	77

[12]

[leaf 36]	By thee, lady, y-makid is the pees	78
	Betwixt Angels and men / it is no doute.	
	Blessid be god, þat swich a modir chees !	
	Thy gracious bountee spredith al aboute.	
	Thogh þat oure hertes steerne been, & stoute,	82
Thou canst get forgiveness for all our sins !	Thow to thy sone canst be swich a mene,	
	That all our giltes he foryeueth clene.	84

[13]

	Paradys yates opned been by thee,	85
By thee, the gates of Hell are broken.	And broken been the yates eek' of helle !	
	By thee / the world restored is pardee !	

- Of al vertu / thow art the spryng & welle!
 By thee, al bountee / shortly for to telle, 89
 In heuene & eerthe, by thyn ordenance
 Parforded is / our soules sustenance! 91
 [14]
- Now, syn thow art of swich auctoritee, 92
 Lady pitous, virgyne wemmelees,
 þat our lord god nat list to werne thee
 Of thy requeste / I wot wel / doutelees
 Than spare nat / foorth thee to putte in prees 96
 To preye for vs, Crystes modir deere!
 Benygnely wole he, thyn axyng' heere. 98
 [15]
- Apostle, and freend familier of Cryst, 99 [leaf 36, back]
 And his y-chosen virgyne / seint Ion /
 Shynyng apostle / & euangelyst,
 And best beloved among hem echon!
 With our lady, preye I thee to been oon, 103
 þat vn-to Cryst shal for vs alle preye:
 Do thus for vs / Crystes derlyng, I seye! 105
 [16]
- Marie & Ion, heueneley gemmes tweyne! 106
 O lightes two, shynyng in the presence
 Of our lord god / now do your bysy peyne
 To wasshe away our cloudeful offense,
 So þat we mowen make resistence 110
 Ageyn the feend / & make him to bewaille
 þat your preyere may so moche auaille. 112
 [17]
- Yee been the two, I knowe verrailly, 113
 In which the fadir god gan edifie
 (By his sone oonlygeten specially)
 To him an hows / wherfore I to yow crye,
 'Beeth leches of our synful maladie! 117
 Preyeth to god / lord of misericorde,
 Oure olde giltes / þat he nat recorde!' 119

Pray for us; and
 Christ will grant
 thy prayer!

Saint John! join

our Lady in pray-
 ing to Christ for
 us!

Mary and John,

help us against
 the Devil!

Cure our sinful
 malady!

[18]

Be our protec-
tion :

‘ Be yee oure help and our proteccioun, 120
 Syn, for meryt of your virginitee,
 The priuilege of his dileccioun
 In yow confermed god, vp on a tree
 Hangyng / and vn-to oon of yow seide he 124
 Right in this wyse / as I reherce can,
 “ Beholde ! heere, lo / thy sone, womman ! ” 126

[19]

Help us in our
need :

‘ And to þat othir / “ heer thy modir, lo ! ” 127
 Than preye I thee / þat for the greet swetnesse
 Of the hy loue / þat god, twixt yow two,
 With his mowth made / and of his noblesse
 Conioyned hath yow / thurgh his blisfulnesse, 131
 As modir and sone, helpe vs in our neede !
 And, for our giltes, make oure hertes bleede ! 133

[20]

O Mary and John,

help me to make
my heart the
dwelling of the
Holy Ghost !

Vn-to yow tweyne / I my soule commendē, 134
 Marie and Iohn, for my sauuacioun !
 Helpith me þat I may my lyf amende !
 Helpith now / þat the habitacioun
 Of the holy goost, our recreacioun, 138
 Be in myn herte now and eueremore !
 And of my soule / wasshe away the sore ! Amen !

[XI.]

*Ce frust mps en le liure de monseigneur
 Johan, lors noumeꝝ / ore Regent de
 France & Duc de Bedford.*

[In 5-measure ninea, *abab, bcb.*]

[1]

[leaf 27, back]
To the Duke of
Bedford, I pre-

Vn-to the rial egles excellence,
 I, humble Clerc, with al hertes humblesse,

This book ¹ presente / & of your reuerence	sent this Balade,
Byseeche I pardon and foryeuenesse,	4
þat, of myn ignorance & lewdenesse,	
Nat haue I write it in so goodly wyse	
As þat me oghte vn-to your worthynesse.	
Myn yen / hath custumed bysynesse	tho it is not good,
So dawwed / þat I may no bet souffyse.	9 because my work has dazed my eyes.

[2]

I dreede lest þat my maister Massy,	Mr. Massy too
þat is of fructuous intelligence,	
Whan he beholdith how vnconnyngly	
My book is metrid / how raw my sentence	13 will see its weak-
How feeble eek been my colours: his prudence	ness, but will (I
Shal sore encombrid been of my folie;	trust)
But yit trusts I / þat his beneuolence	
Compleyne wole myn insipience	
Secretly / & what is mis / rectifie.	18 set it right.

[3]

Thow book / by licence of my lordes grace,	19
To thee speke I / and this I to thee seye :	
I charge thee / to shewe thow thy face	
Beform my seid Maistir / & to him preye	22
On my behalue / þat he peise and weye	Let him weigh my
What myn entente is, þat I speke in thee,	intent, and excuse
For rethorik ¹ hath hid fro me the keye	the want of
Of his tresor / nat deyneth hir nobleye	Rhetoric.
Dele with noon so ignorant as me !	26 [leaf 38]

Cest tout.

¹ The poem, fol. 37 b. to Monsr. Johan (afterwards Duke of Bedford), and that, fol. 39 b. to the Prince (afterwards Henry V), were both sent with the book of the *Regimen of Princes*, and are added at the end of that book in MS. Reg. 17, D. XVIII. [Brit. Mus.] . . . T. Tyrwhitt (Letter pasted in the MS.).

This poem is not in MS. Reg. 17, D. VI. which the late Thos. Wright printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1860. That has only, at end, the poem on p. 61, below.

[XIV.]

**Ceste balade ensupante feust mise en le
fin du liure del Regiment des Princes.**

[See note 1, above, p. 57; and p. 195-6, of T. Wright's edition
of the *De Regimine* (about 1412 A.D.), Roxb. Club, 1860.
In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

O litil book¹ / who yaf thee hardynesse
Thy wordes to pronounce in the presence
Of kynges ympe and Princes worthynesse,
Syn thow al nakid art of eloquence?
And why approachist thow his excellence,
Vnclothid, sauf thy kirtil bare also?
I am right seur, his humble pacience
Thee yeueth hardynesse to do so.

O Book, who gave
thee boldnesse to
go before the
the Prince of
Wales?

4

His patience.

8

[2]

But o thyng woot I wel; go wher thow go,
I am so pryuee vn-to thy sentence,
Thow haast, and art / and wilt been eueremo,
To his hynesse of swich beneuolence!
Thogh thow nat do him due reuerence
In wordes / thy cheertee nat is the lesse.
And if lust be, to his magnificence,
Do by thy reed / his welthe it shal witnesse!

9

Thou art full of
good will to him,
tho thy words be
poor.

12

16

[3]

Byseeche him, of his gracious noblesse,
Thee holde excusid of thyn innocence
Of endytynge / and with hertes humblesse,
If any thyng thee passe of negligence,
Byseeche him of mercy and indulgence,
And þat, for thy good wil¹ / he be nat fo
To thee / þat al seist of loues feruence!
þat knowith god² / whom no thyng is hid fro.

17

Pray him to ex-
cuse thy ignor-
ance,

20

as it speaks from
love, which God
knows.

24

Cest tout.

¹ hert—ed. Wright (MS. Reg. 17, D. VI.) ² he—ed. Wright.

[XVI.]

[Balade to my maister Carpenter.]

[In 5-measure sevens, *ababb*, cc.]

[1]

See heer, my maister Carpenter,¹ I yow preye,
 How many chalenges ageyn me be;
 And I may nat deliure hem by no weye,
 So me werreyeth coynes scarsetee,
 That ny Cousin is to necessitee.
 For why, vn-to yow seeke I for refut,
 Which þat of confort am ny destitut.

[2]

Tho men / whos names I aboue expresse,
 Fayn wolden þat they and I euene were :
 And so wolde I / god take I to witnesse !
 I woot wel, I moot heere / or elles where
 Rekne of my dettes / & of hem answer.
 Myn herte, for the dreede of god & awe,
 Fayn wolde it qwyte / & for constreynt of lawe.

[3]

But, by my trouthe / nat wole it betyde !
 And therefore, as faire as I can & may,
 With aspen herte / I preye hem abyde,
 And me respyte / to sum lenger day.
 Some of hem grante / and some of hem seyn ' nay !'
 And I so sore ay dreede an affir clap,
 That it me reueth many a sleep & nap.

[4]

If þat it lykid / vn-to your goodnesse,
 To be betwixt [hem] and me, swich a mene

[leaf 41]

¶ A. d B. & C. d
 D. &c. [Credi-
 tors].

¶ Ceste balade
 feust tendremēt
 considere, & bone-
 ment execute.

Mr. Carpenter,
 I can't pay my
 creditors.

5

Help me !

7

8

They want their
 money.

12

14 And I do wish I
 could pay em.

15

But, upon my
 word, I can't.

19

Some won't giv
 me time. This

21

stops my sleeping.

22

[leaf 41, back]

¹ 'Carpenter' is written over an erasure, the original having probably another name, to whose owner it had been sent, as it was doubtless afterwards sent to other moneyful folk. Carpenter was no doubt the famous town-clerk of London (1417-38), its M.P. and benefactor &c., born 1370, died 1441.

[XV.]

¶ Item au Roy, que dieu pardoint !

[1]

O King, give us

Victorious Kyng, our lord ful gracious,
 We, humble lige men to your hynesse,
 Meekly byseechen yow (o kyng pitous !)
 Tendre pitee haue on our sharp distresse ;

4

[leaf 40, back]
 three some money!

Or else we must
 trot into Newgate.

For, but the flood of your rial largesse
 Flowe vp on vs / gold hath vs in swich hate,
 þat of his loue and cheertee the scantnesse
 Wole arte vs three¹ to trotte vn-to Newgate.

8

[2]

We don't ask for
 much.

And we've workt
 long and hard for
 it!

Benigne lige lord ! o hauene & yate
 Of our confort ! let your hy worthynesse
 Oure indigences softne / & abate !
 In yow lyth al / yee may our greef redresse !

9

12

The somme þat we in our biñ expresse,
 Is nat excessif ne outrageous ;

Our long seruice also berith witnesse,
 We han for it be ful laborious.

16

[3]

Don't stop your
 bounty to your
 old servania,

and let us turn
 paupers !

O lige lord, þat han be plenteuous
 Vn-to your Liges / of your grace algate,
 Styntith nat now for to be bounteuous
 To vs, your seruantz of olde date !
 God woot we han been truly & late,
 Louynge lige men to your gracelesse.
 Lat nat the strook' o' vs mate,
 O worthy Prince ! r' p'rowesse !

17

20

24

¹ There were 4 : J.llay, Hethe and Offorde, on p.
 60, l. 25-6.

[XVI.]

[Balade to my maister Carpenter.]

[In 5-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*]

[1]

See heer, my maister Carpenter,¹ I yow preye,
 How many chalenges ageyn me be;
 And I may nat deliure hem by no weye,
 So me werreyeth coynes scarsetee,
 That ny Cousin is to necessitee.
 For why, vn-to yow seeke I for refut,
 Which pat of confort am ny destitut.

[2]

Tho men / whos names I aboue expresse,
 Fayn wolden pat they and I euene were:
 And so wolde I / god take I to witnesse!
 I woot wel, I moot heere / or elles where
 Rekne of my dettes / & of hem answer.
 Myn herte, for the dreede of god & awe,
 Fayn wolde it qwyte / & for constreynt of lawe.

[3]

But, by my trouthe / nat wole it betyde!
 And therfore, as faire as I can & may,
 With aspen herte / I preye hem abyde,
 And me respyte / to sum lenger day.
 Some of hem grante / and some of hem seyn 'nay!' 19
 And I so sore ay dreede an aftir clap,
 That it me reueth many a sleep & nap.

[4]

If pat it lykid / vn-to yow witnesse,
 To I [hem] at a mene

[leaf 41]

¶ A. d B. & C. d
D. &c. [Credi-
tors].¶ Coste balade
feust tendrement
considere, & bone-
ment execute.Mr. Carpenter,
I can't pay my
creditors.

5

Help me!

7

8

They want their
money.

12

14 And I do wish I
could pay em.

15

But, upon my
word, I can't.

19

Some won't giv
me time. This

21

stops my sleeping.

22

[leaf 41, back]

original having probably another
 aptless afterwards sent to
 town-clerk of London
 1441.

... might keep be fro durance!

... thachte wolde it voide cleme.

... rissance: this thyng demene? 35

... how soone also,

... wenchynge of my wo. 36

Cest tout.

[XVII.]

**En balade esupantir frust, par la Court
de leur compaignie, enuier a louure
sur Henri Sommer, Chancelier de
leschequer,² & un de la dicte
Court.**

[After 1406. In 5-measure seven, ababb, c.]

[1]

... and our freend special, 1
... and felawe, in this cas / we calle yow.
... soni vn-to vs / clearly / al
... & vnderstanden how
... your conceit, as now, 5
... fourth as we been Inne;
... rule to begyne: 7

[2]

... in the place of honour, 8
... & for gladnesse,
... void been errour
... of excessse,
... to vse largesse 13
... for to exceeds
... yee nat beede. 14

¹ See p. 50, l. 20; 54, l. 58, and at 68, l. 51.
² See p. 50, l. 51, and p. 54, l. 58.
³ See p. 50, l. 51, and p. 54, l. 58.

[3]

- ¶ Yee allegge eek' / how a rule hath be kept 15 Also, that we were
 Or this / which was good / as yee hane herd seyn ;
 But it now late / cessid hath, & slept ;
 Which good yow thynkith / were vp take ageyn : and we ought to
 And but if it so be / our Court cerceyn, 19 be so again,
 Nat likly any whyle is to endure ;
 As hath in mowthe, many a creature. 21

[4]

- Yee wolden, þat in conseruacioun 22
 Of our' honour / & eek' for our profyt,
 þat thentente of our' old fundacioun
 Obserued mighte been / & to þat plyt
 Be broght as it was first / & passe al qwynt 26 and have no out-
 Out of the daunger of outrageous waast, rageous waste.
 Lest with scorn & reproof, feede vs swich taast. 28

[5]

- Vn-to þat ende, .vj^e. shippes grete,¹ 29 [leaf 62, back :
 To yene vs han yee grauntid & behight, You've promist to
 To bye ageyn our dyner, flour or whete ; give us 6 great
 And besyde it / as reson wole, & right, Nobles to buy
 Paie your lagh / as dooth an othir wight, flour or wheat,
 þat by mesure rulith him, and gyeth, and pay your
 And nat as he / whom outrage maistrieth. 33 souce too.
 35

[6]

- In your letre / contened is also, 36
 þat if vs list to chaunge in no maneere
 Our newe gyse, ne twynne ther-fro :
 The firste day of May, yee wole appeere,
 (þat day yee sette be with vs in feere,) 40

And, if we'll not
 alter our new
 fashion, you'll
 dine with us on
 the 1st of May.

¹ The great Noble of Edward III. stampd with a Ship, in which he sat, bearing his shield on his left arm, and his sword in his right hand, was issued in 1344, in honour of his naval victory over the French, off Sluys, on Midsummer Day 1340. Its worth was 6s. 8d. The Ship lasted thro' all our Kings to the early days of Q. Elizabeth. The half-Noble also had the Ship; the quarter-Noble, not. See *Rwling*, p. 219.

Pray keep me out of gaol!	As þat I mighte kept be fro duressē!	
	Myn heuy thoghþes wolde it voide clene.	
	As your good plesance is / this thyng demene!	26
	How wel þat yee doon / & how soone also,	
	I suffre ¹ may in qwenchyng of my wo.	28
	Cest tout.	

[XVII.]

Ceste balade ensupante feust, par la Court
de bone compaignie, enuoiee a lonure
sire Henri Sommer, Chaunceller de
leschequer,² & vn de la dicte
Court.

[After 1408. In 5-measure sevens, *ababb, cc.*]

[1]

[on leaf 41, back]	Worshipful sir, and our freend special,	1
	And felawe, in this cas / we calle yow.	
Sir Henry, your letter wants us	Your letre sent vn-to vs / cleerly / al	
	We haue red / & vndirstanden how	
	It is no wit to your conceit, as now,	5
to start a fresh custom.	Vse the rule foorth as we been Inne;	
	But al an othir rule to begynne:	7

[2]

[leaf 42]	Rehercyng how, in the place of honour,	8
You tell us that our Club in the Temple	The Temple / for solace / & for gladnesse,	
	Wher as nat oghte vsid been errour	
	Of ouer mochil waast or of exceasse,	
was founded to spend a lot of money.	First wern we fowndid to vse largesse	12
	In our despenses / but for to exceede	
	Reson / we han espyed / yee nat beede.	14

¹ It's 'souffre' before, p. 50, l. 20; 54, l. 58, and at 68, l. 51.

² He was to come and preside at the Court's dinner on the Thursday following, May 1.

[3]

- ¶ Yee allegge eek / how a rule hath be kept 15 Also, that we were
Or this / which was good / as yee haue hard seyn ; once moderate,
But it now late / cessid hath, & slept ;
Which good yow thynkith / were vp take ageyn : and we ought to
And but if it so be / our Court certeyn, 19 be so again,
Nat likly any whyle is to endure ;
As hath in mowthe, many a creature. 21

[4]

- Yee wolden, þat in conseruacioun 22
Of our honour / & eek for our profyt,
þat thentente of our old fundacioun
Observed mighte been / & to þat plyt
Be broght as it was first / & passe al qwynt 26 and have no out-
Out of the daunger of outrageous waast, rageous waste.
Lest with scorn & reproof, feede vs swich taast. 28

[5]

- Vn-to þat ende, .vj^e. shippes grete,¹ 29 [leaf 42, back]
To yeue vs han yee grauntid & behight, You've promist to
To bye ageyn our dyner, flour or whete ; give us 6 great
And besyde it / as reson wole, & right, Nobles to buy
Paie your lagh / as dooth an othir wight, 33 flour or whant,
þat by mesure rulith him, and gyeth, and pay your
And nat as he / whom outrage maistrieth. 35 score too.

[6]

- In your letre / contened is also, 36
þat if vs list to change in no maneere
Our newe gyse, ne twynne ther-fro :
The firste day of May, yee wole appeere,
(þat day yee sette be with vs in feere,) 40
- And, if we'll not
alter our new
fashion, you'll
dine with us on
the 1st of May.

¹ The great Noble of Edward III. stampd with a Ship, in which he sat, bearing his shield on his left arm, and his sword in his right hand, was issued in 1344, in honour of his naval victory over the French, off Sluys, on Midsummer Day 1340. Its worth was 6s. 8d. The Ship lasted thro' all our Kings to the early days of Q. Elizabeth. The half-Noble also had the Ship ; the quarter-Noble, not. See *Ruding*, p. 219.

And to keepe it / yee wole be reedy :
This is theeffect of your letre soothly. 43

[7]

We answer: To the whiche, in this wyse we answer: 43

You're not bound
to be extravagant.
Excesse for to do / be yee nat bownde,
Ne noon of vs / but do as we may bere :
Vp-on swich rule, we nat vs ne grownde.

The you're plenty
of money do as
you think proper ! Yee been discreet / thogh yee in good habownde 47

Dooth as yow thinkith for your honestee !
Yee, and we all, am at our libertee. 49

[8]

[leaf 45] At our laste dyner / wel knowne yee 50

At our last Dinner
By our Stywardes limitacioun,
(As custume of our Court axith to be,)
And ay at our congregacion
Observed / left al excusacion, 54

you wer warnd to
provide dinner for
next Thursday. Warned yee wern / for the dyner arraye 56

[9]

Pray don't let us
go without our
dinner ! Be yow nat holde aysid in swich wyse 57

As for to make vs destitut, pat day,
Of our dyner / take on yow pat emprise,
If your lust be / dryueth excesse away.
Of wyse men / mochil / folk' lerne may : 61

Put down excess,
if you like ! Discrecion mesurith euery thyng : 63

[10]

Be a pattern to us, Ensaumpleth vs / let seen / & vs miroure ; 64

As pat it seemeth good to your prudence,
Reule pat day / for the thank' shal be youre ;

and let us drink
only what you
please, Dooth as yow list be drawe in consequence ;¹ 68

but do give us the
Dinner we expect ! We trusten in your wys experience ; 70

But keepith wel your tourn / how so befalle,
On thorsday next / on which we awayte alle.

Cest tout.

¹ Have as much wine drawn as you think fit.

[XVIII.]

Ceste balade ensugante feust translatee
au commandement de mon Meistre
Robert Chichele.

[leaf 43, back]

[In 5-measure eights, *abab, bcbc.*]

[1]

As þat I walkid in the monthe of May
Besyde a groue in an heuy musynge,
Floures dyuerse I sy, right fressh and gay,
And briddes herde I eek' lustyly synge,
þat to myn herte yaf a confortynge.
But euere o thoght me stang vn-to the herte,
þat dye I sholde / & hadde no knowynge
Whanne, ne whidir, I sholde hennes sterte.

In May I walkt in
a grove,

4

8 and thought I
knew not when I
should die.

[2]

Thynkyng thus / byfore me I say
A crois depeynted with a fair ymage.
I thoghte I nas but ashes and foul clay :
Lyf passith as a shadwe in euery age ;
And my body yeueth no better wage
Than synne / which the soule annoyeth sore.
I preyde god / mercy of myn outrage,
And shoop me / him to offende no more.

9

I saw a Crucifix,

12

16 and prayd God for
mercy.

[3]

On god to thynke / it yeueth a delyt,
Wel for to doon / & froo synne withdrawe ;
But for to putte a good deede in respyt /
Harmeth / swich delay is nat worth an hawe.
Wolde god, by my speeche and my sawe,
I mighte him and his modir do plesance,

17

20 [leaf 44]

Would God I
might please him !

	And, to my meryt, folwe goddes lawe, And of mercy, housbonde a purueance !	24
	[4]	
Mother of Ihesu :	¹ Modir of Ihesu, (verray god and man, þat by his deeth / victorie of the feend gat,) Haue it in mynde / thow blessid womman, For the wo / which vn-to thyn herte sat In thy sones torment / forgeete it nat !	25
Grant me grace to be virtuous !	Grante me grace / to vertu me take, ² Synne despyse, & for to hate al that That may thy sone & thee displesid make !	32
	[5]	
Ihesu, with	Mercyful lord Ihesu / me heere, I preye, þat right vnkynde / & fals am vn-to thee ! I am right swich ; I may it nat withseye.	33
contrite heart I crave thy pity !	With salte teeres craue I thy pitee, And herte contryt / mercy haue on me þat am thy recreant caytif traitour ! By my dissertes, oghte I dampned be ; But ay thy mercy heetith me socour.	36
	[6]	
Lady, I trust by thy prayers to be saved.	Lady benigne / our souereyn refuyt ! Seur trust haue I, to han, by thy prayeere, Of strength / & confort, so vertuous fruyt, That I shal sauf be, Crystes modir deere ! My soules ship, gouerne thow, & steere ! Let me nat slippe out of thy remembrance, Lest, whan þat I am rype vn-to my beere, The feend me assaille, & haue at the outranca.	41
[leaf 44, back]		44
	[7]	
Lord, I thank thee Who diedst for my guilt !	To thanke thee, lord / hyly holde I am, For my gilt / nat for thyn / þat woldest dia, Who souffred euere swich a martirdam. Yit thy deeth gat of the feend the maistric,	49
		52

¹ This begins the alternate stanzas to the Virgin and Christ.² To betake myself to Virtue.

And þat, al kynde of man may testifie.

O ! blessid be thy loue charitable,

þat list so deere our synful soules bie,

To make vs sauf / wher we weren dampnable. 56

Blessed be Thy
love !

[8]

Now thy socour / o Heuenes Emperice,

Fro me, wrecche, torne thow nat thy face !

Ther as I deepe wrappid am in vice,

Gretter neede haue I / thyn help to purchase ! 60

Vn-to the souerain leche, preye of grace,

þat he my wowndes / vouchesauf to cure,

So þat the feend my soule nat embrace,

Al thogh I haue agilt ouer mesure. 64

[9]

Wel oghten we thee thanke, gracious lord,

þat thee haast humbled, for to been allied

To vs ! auctour of pees and of concord,

On the crois was thy skin in-to blood died !

Allas ! why haue I me to synne applied ?

Why is my soule encombrid so with synne ?

Lord, in al þat I haue me mis gyed,

Foryeue / & of my trespas wole I blynne. 72

Gracious Lord,

[leaf 45]

forgive me, and I
will stop my sin.

[10]

Lady / wardeyn of peple fro ruyne,

þat sauedest Theoffe and many mo !

Of thy grace, myn herte enlumyne !

For, as I trowe, & woot it wel also,

Thy might is me to wariasse of my wo.

Of thy benigne sone, mercy craue,

Of þat forueyed haue I, & mis go.

His wil is thyn / my soule keepe & saue ! 80

Craue mercy of
thy Son !

[11]

Lord Ihesu Cryst / I axe of thee pardoun !

I yilde me to thee, lord souereyn !

My gilt confesse I / lord / make vnioun

Betwixt thee & my soule / for in veyn 84

Lord Ihesu,

confess my guilt.
Unite my soul to
Thine !

	My time have I depending in thy hand, Hence of the danger of thy precious hand For the time must be with me in the hand, Depending on me, but not depending on me!	88
	[12]	
<i>Master of Mercy, Leprosy:</i>	Lady! for thy art of mercy, Which thy art of me for me for me Of mercy and me there is mercy.	89
<i>Lord, let me be</i>	Thy will of grace in thy mercy hand, Let me be free to purchase my blame, Let me be free for I suffer & fall!	91
<i>I call to thee to save me from death.</i>	For my service to keep me for blame, Of grace, mercy, I vnto thee call!	96
	[13]	
	Sylla for is to every virtue so, Heavens god & me maid hath with death, For my soul is damp'd for evermore, But if for mercy, which hath maid theart Of mannes soul, for was violat By likorous lust & disobedience, For which our lord Ihesu was incarnat, Me helpe make the feend resistance!	97 100 104
	[14]	
<i>Lady, let me be</i>	Lady! for art of grace spryng & sour, Port in peril / solas in heynesse! Of thy wont bontee, keepe alway the cours!	105
<i>the fiend oppresse me at death!</i>	Lat nat the feend, at my deeth me oppresse! Torne the crois to me, noble Princesse, Which vn-to every soor is the triacle! Thogh my dissert be naight / of thy goodnesse, Ageyn the feendes wrenches, make obstacle!	108 112
	[15]	
<i>Lord, I watch to gain thy mercy!</i>	Lord, on thy grace & pitee / myn herte ay Awaitith / to purchase thy mercy.	113
<i>(leaf 46)</i>	Allas! I caytif / wel I mourne may, Syn the feend served often sythe haue y.	116

It reewith me / do wíth me graciously,
 For I purpose to stynte of my synnes.
 What ageyn thee / mis take hath my body,
 My soule keepe fro the feendes gynnes ! 120 *Keep me from the
Devil's snares !*

[16]

Blessid virgyne, ensample of al vertu,
 þat peere hast non / of wommanhode flour ! 121 *Blessed Virgin,*
 For the loue of thy sone, our Lord Ihesu,
 Strengthe vs to doon him seruice & honour ! 124 *strengthen us to
serve Christ !*
 Lady ! be mene vn-to our Sauueour,
 þat our soules þat the feend waytith ay
 To hente / & wolde of hem be possessour,
 Ne sese hem nat in the vengeable day ! 128

[17]

The flessch / the world / & eek' the feend my fo, 129
 My wittes alle han at hir retenance :
 They to my soule doon annoy & wo.
 For why, Lord, dreede I me of thy vengeance. 132 *Lord, lift my soul
to blas !*
 With mercy, my soule in-to blisse enhance !
 Worthy marchant ! saue thy marchandie,
 Which þat thou boghtest with dethes penance !
 Lat nat the feend haue of vs the maistrie ! 136

[18]

Excellent lady ! in thy thoght impresse 137 *[leaf 46, back]
Lady, pray thy
Child to save us
from the Devil's
net !*
 How & why thy chyld souffrid his tormente !
 Preye him to haue on vs swich tendrenesse,
 þat in the feendes net we be nat hent ! 140
 At the day of his steerne iugement,
 Lat nat him leese þat he by deeth boghte !
 I woot wel / ther-to hath he no talent :
 Mynge him ther-on / for thee so to doon / oghte ! 144

[19]

Whan in a man, synne growith & rypith, 145
 The fruyt of it is ful of bittirnesse ;
 But penitence cleene away it wypith,
 And to the soule yeueth greet swetnesse. 148

O Christ the
Judge,
mix Mercy with
thy Judgment!

O steerne Iuge / with thy rightwisnesse,
Medle thy mercy / and shewe vs fauour!
Vn-to our soules, maad to thy liknesse,
Graunte pardoun of our stynkyng errour!

152

[20]

O Queen,

O glorious qweene / to the repentaunt
pat art refuyt / socour and medecyne!
Lat nat the foule feend make his ausaunt,
pat he hath thee byreft any of thyne!

153

pray for us, and

[leaf 47]

Thurgh thy prayere, thow thy sone enclyne
His merciable grace / on vs to reyne!
Be tendre of vs / o thow blissid virgyne!

156

bring us to blisse!

For if thee list / we shuln to blisse attayne.

160

C'est tout.

[*End of the Phillippe MS.*]

[XIX.]

[Fairfax MS. 16 (Bodl. Lib. about 1430-40), leaf 40.]

¶ *Litera Cupidinis, dei Amatoris,² directa
subditis suis amatoribus.¹*

[A.D. 1402]. [Hocelyffe (in *Stowe's hand*).]

[In 68 five-measure sevens, *ababb*, cc.]

[1]

I, Cupid, whom
gods, devils, and
men obey,

¶ Cupido³ / vn-to whos⁴ comaundement
the gentil kynredē / of goddis⁵ an hy,⁵
And pepill infernal / ben obedient,
And mortel folke al / seruen besely,
⁶The goddesse sone / Sythera soothly,⁶

1

5

greet my subjects.

ben sugetes⁷ / hertly gretying sende we!

7

¹⁻¹ The Lettre of Cupide, god of Loue, B (Bodley MS. 638, leaf 38 bk.)
² *Amoris* T. (Tanner MS. 348, lf. 41). ³ Cypide B. ⁴ quhois S. (But few of
the after variations of spelling are given.) ⁵⁻⁵ onely S. (MS. Arch. Seld. B.
24, lf. 211 bk.) ⁶⁻⁶ of the . . . onely F, The goddesse Cithera soñ sothly S.
⁷ subditis S.

[2]

In general, we ¹wol[en] / that ye knowe,¹
 that ladies of honour / and reuerence,
 and other gentil wyemen / ²haven sowe²
³suche seed of ³compleynt / in our audience,
 of men ⁴that do hem⁴ / outrage and offence,
 that yt oure ceres greueth / for⁵ to here;
 so pitouse is theeffecte / of this⁶ matere.

8 [leaf 40, back]
 I tell you that
 gentlewomen
 haue so com-
 plained to me of
 men's outrages
 ou them,
 12
 that my eare are
 grieved.
 14

[3]

⁷Passyng al londes / on the lital⁷ Ile
 that cleped ys albyon⁸ / they most compleyn:
⁹they seye, that there⁹ ys / crope and rote of gile:
¹⁰soo konne tho men / dyssymule[n]¹⁰ and feyne¹¹
 with stondyng dropes / ¹²on her eyen tweyne,¹²
 When that her hertes / felith no distresse,
 to blynden women / wyth her doublenesse.

15 Above all, in
 England
 men sham crying
 19
 21 to deccive women.

[4]

¹³Her wordes spoken ben / so syghyngly,¹³
 wyth so pitouse ¹⁴chere / and contynauce,¹⁴
 that euery wyght / that meneth tru[th]ly,
 Demeth ¹⁵that they in hert / haue suche¹⁵ grevaunce.
 they sey, so importable / ys her penaunce,
 that but her lady / lust to schew hem grace.
 they ryght anoone / [mote]¹⁶ sterven in the place.

22 They sigh,
 look pitiful,
 26 and say they'll
 die if their ladies
 don't grant 'em
 favours,
 28

[5]

"A, lady myn," they sey / "I yowe ensure,
¹⁷as doth¹⁷ me grace / and I shal ever be—
 while that my lyfe / may last[en]¹⁸ and endure—
 to yow as humble / and lowe in ech degre
 as possible ys / and kepe al thing¹⁹ secre

29
 and that they'll
 be as humble
 33 and regret as
 possible.

1-1 will that know 30 S. 2-3 haue we S. 2-3 Herd the trow S. 4-4 that
 donne thamme S: F reads wyemen, as this MS. 5 so S. 6 thare S. 7-7 And
 passid all ye boundis of ye S. 8 britanne S. 9-9 Thai seyn thare In S.
 10-10 So can thir men dissymulen S. 11 seyn B. 12-12 In thare eyen tweyne
 S; in, Speght 1602. 13-13 Thir wordis ben spoken generally S. 14-14 a chere
 and countenance S. 15-15 In hert that thai haue high S. 16 S inserts most;
 Speght 'must.' 17-17 30 do S. 18 lesten S. 19 thing A (Ashburnham MS) S,
 thing as F. S omits as.

ryght as youre seluen¹ lyst[e] / that I do ;
and elles myn² herte³ / mote brest a-two." 35

[6]

But it's hard to
know a man's
heart.

ful herd⁴ yt is⁴ to know / a manys hert ; 36
for outwarde may⁵ no man⁵ / the trouthe deme ;
⁶when worde out of his mouthe / may non astert,⁶
but 'yt by reson⁷ semed / euery wight to⁷ queme ;
⁸so is hit seyde⁸ of hert / as hit wolde seme. 40

Women are
deceivd by false
appearance.

O⁹ feythful woman / ful of¹⁰ Innocence,
thou arte deceyved / be fals apparence ! 42

[7]

Women believe
men, and grant
'em favours to
save their lives.

¹¹By processe¹² moveth / oft woman¹² pite : 43
wenyng al¹³ thing were / as [pat] thise¹⁴ men¹⁴ sey,
they graunte hem grace / of hir benignite,
¹⁵for that men shulde nat / for her sake¹⁵ dey ;
and with good hert[e] / set hem in the wey 47
of blesful loue / kepe yt yf they¹⁶ konne :
thus other while¹⁷ women¹⁷ beth y-wonne. 49

[8]

And when the
man has posses-
sion of the woman,

And whann this man / the¹⁸ pot hath be¹⁸ the stele, 50
and fully is / in his possessyon,
with that woman / kepeth he not¹⁹ to dele

he runs after any
other in the town,

²⁰after, yif he may / fynde[n]²⁰ in the tovne
any woman / his blynde affeccion) 54

Curse him!

On²¹ to bestowe[n] / euel²² mote he preve !
a man, for al his²³ othes / is herde to leve !²³ 56

[9]

And for that euery fals man / hath a make, 57
(as vn-to euery wight / is lyght to knowe,)

¹ selfe Sp., self F, seluen S. ² that myn S. ³ herte Sp., hert F. ⁴⁻⁴ Is It S. ⁵⁻⁵ non S. ⁶⁻⁶ Quafi word may non out of his mouth stert S. ⁷⁻⁷ it he resoun any wicht shuld S. ⁸⁻⁸ So It is S. B. ⁹ A S. ¹⁰ of Sp., om. F. ¹¹ Stanzas 7-16. These verses are omitted in the Digby MS. 181. ¹²⁻¹² womeni movit of S, of T also. ¹³ that all S. ¹⁴ om. S. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ That they schuld not for thare loue S. ¹⁶ he F, they S, ye F. ¹⁷ This othir quhilis S, And thus o. w. F. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ the pot hath by A S, penne F. ¹⁹ not S, no more F. ²⁰⁻²⁰ After yat . . funden S. ²¹ On A, vn F. ²² foule S. ²³⁻²³ oth . . leue A S, belcue F.

when this traytoure / this woman hath for-sake,
 he ¹fast[e] spedeth him¹ / vn-to his felowe :
 til he be there / his hert ys on¹ a lowe ;
 hys fals deceyt / ²[ne] may him not² suffice,
 but of hys treson / telleth al³ the wise.⁴

And goes and
 tells his maies
 61
 63 all about it.

[10]

Ye this a faire avaunte / is this honoure ?
 a man him silfe ⁵accuse / thus, and diffame⁵
⁶[Now] ys it good / confesse him⁶ / a traytoure,
 and bringe a woman / to [a]⁷ sclaudrouse name,
 and tel⁸ how he hir body / hathe do shame ?
 No worshippe ⁹may he thus / to him⁹ conquere,
¹⁰but grete esclaundre¹⁰ / vn-to him and here !

Is this honour ?
 a man to confesse
 he's a traitor,
 and tell how he's
 shamed a woman ?
 64
 68
 70

[11]

¹¹[Vn] To hir ¹²name yet / was¹² yt no reпре,
 for, al for vertu / was [it]¹³ that she wroght ;
 but he that brewed bath¹⁴ / al this myschefe,
 that spake so faire / and falsly¹⁵ inward thoght,¹⁶
 his be the sclaudre / as yt be reson oght ;
 and vn-to hir / [a] thank¹⁷ perpetuel,
 that in a nede¹⁸ / ¹⁹helpe can¹⁹ so wel !

The woman's not
 to be blamed,
 71
 75 but the man is.
 77

[12]

²⁰Al-thogh of men, thorgh sleyght / and sotilte,²⁰
 a sely symple / and Innocent²¹ woman
²²betrayed ys / no wondre, sith the²² cyte
 of Troye / (as [bat] the storye telle²³ can)
 be-trayed was / thorgh the²⁴ disceyt of man,

No wonder that
 an innocent
 woman is
 betrayd by man,
 78
 82 for Troy was,

¹⁻¹ spedith him fast S (spedeth = sped'th). ²⁻³ ne / may nat him S. ³ at S.
⁴ gwyce T. ⁵⁻⁵ accuseñ & defame S. ⁶⁻⁶ Now Is It good confesse him S, ys
 it g. c. h. selfe F. ⁷ In a S, B om. ⁸ say S. ⁹⁻⁹ thus he may him self S.
¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Bot gett a sclander S, disclaundre Sp. T. ¹¹ St. 11-16 are st. 1 to 6 in the
 Digby MS. ¹²⁻¹² name 3hit is D, nay yet was F, nay B T, na S. ¹³ om. T.
¹⁴ om. S. ¹⁵ so falsly D. ¹⁶ wrot S. ¹⁷ a thank S. ¹⁸ nede D, rede F, in soch
 a need Sp. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ can helpeñ meñ S. ²⁰⁻²⁰ Allthoug that meñ by slicht &
 subtiltee S, of men D, men F, through mens Sp. ²¹ Ignorant A S. ²²⁻²² Be-
 trayed no wonder Ia, señ ye S. ²³ tel F D, tell Sp., tellen S. ²⁴ om. D.

and set on¹ fire / and [al] dovne² ouer-throwe,
and destroyd. and fynaly dystroyed / as men knowe. 84

[13]

³Betraied men not³ / Citees⁴ grete, and kynges ? 85
what wyght is yt⁵ / that kan shape remedye⁶
⁷ayens these falsely / purposed⁷ thinges ?
who can the crafte / suche craftes⁸ to espye,⁹
Men are ever ready for falsity; but ¹⁰man, whos wytte / is euer redy¹⁰ to aplye 89
to¹¹ thyng that ¹²sovneth / in-to [hy]¹² falshede ?
Women, beth ware / of ¹³mennys sleight,¹³ I rede ! 91

[14]

And furthermore / han these¹⁴ men in vsage, 92
and when they've no chance themselves, they see a woman for them. that,¹⁵ where [as] ¹⁶they / not lykly ben¹⁷ to¹⁶ spede,
suche as [they]¹⁸ ben / with a double visage
they procuren¹⁹ / for to pursw her nede ;
he prayeth him, in his cause / to procede, 96
and largely ²⁰guerdoneth / he his²⁰ trauaylle :
lytell wote²¹ wommen / how men hem²² assaylle ! 98

[15]

Another wretch 'll tell a man in love, that Another wrecheh / vnto his felowe seythe : 99
'thow fisshest fayre / she that the hath fired,
ys fals and²³ inconstant / and hath no feythe !
she, ²⁴for the rode of folke / ys so desired,²⁴
his girl is hired daily by others, and²⁵ as an hors / fro day to day ys hired, 103
that when thow twynnest / fro hir companye,
another cometh / and blered ys thyn ye ! 105

[16]

' Now prikke on¹ fast / and ride thy iourney 106
and when his back's turnd while thou art there / for she, behinde thy bake,

¹ a S. ² all S Sp. ³⁻⁵ men) D, Betray not men B F S T. ⁴ realmes S. ⁵ hit B, om. S. ⁶ a r. S. ⁷⁻⁷ Agayne falsely porposyd T, these falsly Sp., falsly D, false hid S. ⁸ castes S. ⁹ aspie D, espy Sp., spy F. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ yt¹⁰ is quho redy ay Is S. ¹¹ In S. ¹²⁻¹² sowning is to Sp., is sownynge T, vnto his S, into hy A. ¹³⁻¹³ false men Sp. ¹⁴ othir S. ¹⁵ T inserts as, where as A. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ quhare thai beñ not likly for to S. ¹⁷ are D. ¹⁸ as D, as they B F Sp., where as T, as that S. ¹⁹ S inserts men. ²⁰⁻²⁰ to guerdoun thair S. ²¹ know S. ²² men hem D Sp., men F. ²³ om. S. ²⁴⁻²⁴ for hir fude of folk Is so disirit S, . . descred F. ²⁵ That S.

so lyberal ys / she wol no wyght¹ with-sey,
 but smertly of another / take a snake;²
 for thus thes wommen / faren, al the pake; 110
 who so hem trusteth / hanged mot he be!
 ay³ they desyren chaunge / and nouelte!⁴ 112

she'll take a
 snack with
 some one else,

as women like
 change.

[17]

⁴Wherof procedeth this / but of envye? 113
 for he him selfe / hyre ne wyne⁵ may,
 he speketh hir reprefe / and vileyny[e],
 as mannes blabbyng⁶ tong / ys wont alway:
 thus dyuers men / ful⁷ often make⁷ assay 117
 for to ⁸distourben folke / in sondry⁸ wyse,
 for they may not / acheven⁹ her emprise. 119

When a man can't
 win a woman,
 he abuses her.

[18]

fful many a man¹⁰ ¹¹eke / wolde¹¹ for no good, 120
 (that hath ¹²in loue / his tyme¹² spent and vsed,)
 Men wyste ¹³his lady,¹³ his axyng¹⁴ withstood,
 and¹⁵ that he ¹⁶were / of hyr pleylnly¹⁶ refused, 123
 or wast and¹⁷ ¹⁸veyn, wer / al that he had¹⁸ mused;
 wherfore he can / no better¹⁹ remedye,
 but on²⁰ his lady / shapith him to lye. 126

Tho' everyone
 knows his lady
 refused him,

he begins to lie
 about her.

[19]

'Euery womman,' he seyth / 'ys lyght to gete, 127
 (kan noon sey nay) / if she be wel I-soght':²¹
 who so may ²²han leyser²² / with her²³ to trete,

He says any
 woman can be
 got if she's well
 courted.

¹ nothing Sp. ² smacke Sp. ³ Euer Sp. ⁴ The collations markt D are from the Digby MS. 181, in the Bodleian Library. This MS. begins the poem with stanzas 11—16 of the Ashburn. version. It then has stanzas 7—16 the same as 17—26 here, then leaves out stanzas 7—10, then takes as its stanzas 17—26 the Ashb. 37-9, 50-6, and after that runs with the Fairfax, its stanzas 37—58 corresponding with Fairfax 47—68. See p. 92 below. ⁵ weenne S. ⁶ blabbyng D Sp., babbyng St. B, labbing S T. ⁷⁻⁷ of will mak S. ⁸⁻⁸ distrouble folk on sunder S: distourble T. ⁹ haue D, obtaine Sp. ¹⁰ Many one Sp. ¹¹⁻¹¹ wolde eke D, wald eke S. ¹²⁻¹² his tyme in love D. ¹³⁻¹³ that sithe S. ¹⁴ axyng: D. ¹⁵ Ere Sp. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ war planly of hir S. ¹⁷ or S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ vayn all that he had D A, . . . hath F. ¹⁹ none other Sp. ²⁰ onely T. ²¹ sought D. ²²⁻²² leisur haue D, leiser haue Sp., leyser haue T. ²³ thame S.

of his purpose / ne¹ shal he faile nocht,
 but he on² maddying² / be so depe ybrought,⁷ 131
 that he³ shende al / with open homelynesse,⁴
⁵that louen wymmen / nat as⁵ that, I gesse.⁷ 133

[20]

Gentlemen should
 arm in defence of
 women.
 To sclauder women / thus, what may profyte? 134
 too gentils⁶ namely / that ⁷hem armen sholde,⁷
 and in⁸ defence of wommen / hem delyte,
⁹as that⁹ the ordre / of gentillesse¹⁰ wolde :
 yf that a man / lyst gentil to be holde, 138
 he ¹¹moot flee al¹¹ that / ther-to ys contrarye :
 a sclaudryng¹² tong / is his grete aduersarye.¹³ 140

[21]

Great talkers gab
 nonsense.
 A foule thing¹⁴ ys / of tonge to be lyght⁷; 141
 for who so mychel¹⁵ clappeth¹⁶ / gabbeth ofte.
 the tonge of men¹⁷ so ¹⁸swyft ys / and so¹⁸ wyght,
 that whan it is areysed / vp on¹⁹ lofte,
 reson¹⁹ yt seweth¹⁹ / so slowly and softe, 145
 that it²⁰ him neuer / ouer-take may :
 lord ! so thise men / beth trusty in asay ! 147

[22]

Tho' one woman
 is inconstant
 Al-be-hyt that man²¹ fynde / o²² woman²² nyce, 148
 In-constant, recheles / or varriable,
²³Deynouse, or proude²³ / fulfilled of malice,
 and deceitful,
 Wythouten²⁴ feyth or love / and deceyvable,
²⁵sly, queynt, and fals²⁵ / in al vnthrift²⁶ coupable, 152
 Wikked, and feers / and ²⁷ful of cruelte,
 it doesn't follow
 that all are.
 yt foloweth nat²⁸ / that swich²⁹, al wommen be. 154

¹ om. D. ² madnesse Sp. ³ om. S. ⁴ humylnes S. ⁵⁻⁶ And that loue nothing women as S, love D., they doten as Sp., nat as D. ⁶ To gentillesse Sp. ⁷⁻⁷ thame honour schald S. ⁸ om. D, Sp. puts 'and' after 'women.' ⁹⁻⁹ And S. ¹⁰ gentilnesse D T. ¹¹⁻¹¹ must all eschewe Sp. ¹² sclaudrous Sp., S. ¹³ MS. aduersyte. ¹⁴ vice Sp., foule wise of t. S. ¹⁵ moche D. ¹⁶ chappith and S. ¹⁷ man S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ swight and so D, swyft ys / and is F. ¹⁹ is shewed Sp., schewit S. ²⁰ it D, yf F. ²¹ men²¹ D. ²² one Sp. ²³⁻²³ Sclee queynt and false S, Deignous Sp. ²⁴ With out D. ²⁵⁻²⁵ Deynouse and proud S. ²⁶ vntrust Sp., vntriste comparable B. ²⁷ om. S, and reads fulfillit. ²⁸ not D. ²⁹ suche D.

[23]

- When that ¹the high god¹ / Aungels formed had, 155
 a-monge hem al[le] / wheither ther were noon)
 that founden was / malicious and bad ? Of the Angels,
 wasn't one bad ?
- Yis ! al men woot / that ther was many oon), Yes.
 that for hir pride / fil² from heven anoon) : 159
³shul men therfore³ / al Aungels, proude name ? Are all angels
 therefore proud ?
- Nay ! he that that⁴ susteneth / is to blame. 161

[24]

- Of twelve apostels, oon) / a traytour was : 162 Of the Apostles,
 the remenant, yit / good[e] were and triwe. one was a traitor,
 than)⁵ yf it happe / men fyndt[n], per caas,⁶ but the rest were
 oo⁷ womman fals / swich⁸ is good for⁹ to eschiwe, true.
- and deme nat¹⁰ that they¹¹ / ben al[le] vntrewe ! 166 So of women.
- I æ¹² wel / mennes owne¹³ fals[e]nesse,
 hem causeth wommen / for to trusten lesse. 168

[25]

- ¹⁴O ! euery man) oght¹⁴ haue / an herte tendre 169 Every man ought
 vn-to¹⁵ woman / and deme hir honourable, to think women
 honourable.
- wheither his shap be / outhur thikke or slender,¹⁶
- or he be badde or good / this¹⁷ ys no fable.
- euery man woot / that witte hath resonable, 173 He's the son of
 one.
- that of a woman / he descended¹⁸ ys : It's a shame to
 than ys yt shame, of hir / to speke amys ! 175 speak ill of her.

[26]

- A wikked tre, gode frute / may noon) forth bryng ; 176
 for swiche¹⁹ the frute ys / as that is the tre. As the tree, so
 is the fruit.
- take hede of whom / thou took thy bygynnyng !
- lat thy moder / be Merour vnto the !
- honore hir / yf thou wolt honoured be ! 180 Honour your
 Mother !

¹⁻¹ god the hie D. ² felt D. ³⁻³ Shuld me for them yeue Sp. ⁴ that that
 D, that F. ⁵ So Sp. ⁶ parcas D. ⁷ A D. ⁸ suche D, a soch good is Sp. ⁹ om.
 B S T. ¹⁰ not D. ¹¹ all S. ¹² S inserts full. ¹³ owne Sp., oone F. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Euery
 ought to D. ¹⁵ vnto a Sp. ¹⁶ sklendre B, sklendir D. ¹⁷ it Sp. ¹⁸ destended
 F, descendit S, descended Sp. ¹⁹ suche D.

Dispise thou hir nat / in no manere,
Lest that ther-by / thy wikkydnesse appere ! 182

[27]

An olde proverbe / seyde ys in englyssh : 183

It's a bad bird
that fouls its
own nest.

men seyn ' that brid or foule / ys dyshonest,
what that he¹ be / and holden ful² chirlyssh,
that vseth to defoule / his ovne neste.'

Men shouldn't
abuse women.

men, to say wel of wymen / ³yt is³ best, 187
and ⁴nat to displesen hem / ne deprauē,⁴
yf that ⁵they wol hir⁵ honour / kepe and⁶ saue. 189

[28]

Women say that
Clerks write
booke against
em,

These ladyes eke⁷ / ⁸compleynen hem on⁸ clerkes, 190
that ⁹they han made bokes / of hir diffame,
In which ¹⁰dispisen they / womman[e]¹⁰ werkes,
and speken of hem / grete reprefe and shame,
and causeles yiven¹¹ hem / a wikked name : 194
thus they dyspyssed ben / on euery syde,
¹²and sclaudred,¹² and bylowen¹³ / on ful wyde. 196

[29]

on how they
betrayd David,
Solomon, &c.,

The sory bokes / maken mensyon 197
how they betrayden¹⁴ / in especial,¹⁵
adam, dauid, sampson / and salamon),
and many oon mo / ¹⁶who may rehersen al¹⁶
the treson / that they haue done ¹⁷and [ay] shal¹⁷ 201
¹⁸the world hir malice / may not comprehende : ¹⁸
¹⁹as that theys¹⁹ clerkes seyn / yt hath noon ende. 203

[30]

Ovid, in his
Remedy of Love,
abused women,
and was a fool for
doing it.

Ouyde in his boke²⁰ / called ' remedye 204
of loue' / grete reprefe of wommen writeth ;
wherin, I trowe, he dide / grete folye,

¹ that he D Sp., he F. ² for S. ³⁻⁵ Is ye S, is the D. ⁴⁻⁴ deprise thame
nor jit d. S, not for to dispysse D B T. ⁵⁻⁵ 3e wald 3our S. ⁶ or Sp. ⁷ euer Sp.
⁸⁻⁸ complene thame of S, compleyn D. ⁹ That that D. ¹⁰⁻¹⁸ they dispise
women and her Sp. ¹¹ yeve D. ¹²⁻¹² Disclaundred Sp. ¹³ blown S, belyed T.
¹⁴ betraied D, haue betrayed S. ¹⁵ especyally D, especial Sp., special F, speciall
S. ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ quho rehersen schall S. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ and all S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ The world may nat yer
malice c. S : wordle D, worde T. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ And that ye S. ²⁰ bokis B.

and euery wyght / that ¹in such case delyteth.¹

a clerkys custome ys / whan he endyteth 208
of women, be yt prose / or² ryme, or vers,
³seye they³ ben wikke / al knowe he the revers. 210

Clerks always do
say women are
naughty, tho they
know it isn't true.

[31]

And that boke, scolers / lerne in ⁴hir chyldehede,⁴ 211
for they of women / ⁵be war sholde⁵ in age,
and for to ⁶louen hem / euer ben⁶ in drede,
syn⁷ to deceyve / is set al hire⁸ corage.
they seyn, ⁹perylle / to cast, ys avauntage,⁹ 215
¹⁰and namely suche¹⁰ / as men ¹¹han in be wrapped,¹¹
for many a man by woman¹² / hath myshapped.¹² 217

[32]

¹⁴No charge, whatso / thyse clerkys¹⁴ seyn : 218
of al hir wrong wryting / I do no cure ;
al hir trauayle and labour¹⁵ / ys in veyn,
For, betwex me / and my lady¹⁶ nature,
shal nat¹⁷ be suffred / while the world may dure, 222
these¹⁸ clerkys / by ¹⁹hir cruel¹⁹ tyranie,
²⁰thus vpon²⁰ wymmen / kythen hir maystrie. 224

I don't care what
writers say

against women.

[33]

Whylom ful mony²¹ of hem²² / wer in my cheyne 225
y-tyed²³ / and now, what for vnweldy age,
and for vnlust, may not / to love atteyne,²⁴
and seyn, that love ys / but werray²⁵ dotage.
²⁶thus, for that they hem selfe²⁶ / lakken corage, 229
they folke exciten²⁷ / by hir wykked sawes,
for to rebelle²⁸ agayn²⁹ me / and my lawes. 231

Many of 'em were
lovers once, but
have grown
useless.

¹⁻¹ on such delitteth S. ² om. D B. ³⁻³ To seye ye S. ⁴⁻⁴ ther childhode D, S om. hir ⁵⁻⁵ schuld be war S. ⁶⁻⁶ loue thame euir be S, love D. ⁷ Sluch S. ⁸ ther D. ⁹⁻⁹ of perel men should cast thauauntage Sp., tast D. ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Namely of such Sp. ¹¹⁻¹¹ haue in be wrappes B, ben I-wrapped D, be-wrapped Sp., be-wrappes F. ¹² women D S. ¹³ myshapped D Sp., myshappes F B. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Now charge is quhat so thir clerkis S, charge is Sp., howso this B. ¹⁵ labour and tr. Sp. S. ¹⁶ om. S. ¹⁷ not D, nat A S T, noon F. ¹⁸ Thus these Sp. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ outrageous A. ²⁰⁻²⁰ on selie Sp. ²¹ many D, meny B. ²² them D. ²³ ycheined S. ²⁴ susteyne S. ²⁵ verry D, veray S. ²⁶⁻²⁶ Thus for thame selueh S, silf D. ²⁷ excerses S. ²⁸ roule S. ²⁹ ayens D.

[34]

- Yet, those who
blame women
most,
But mawgre hem / that blamen wommen most, 232
suche is¹ the force / of myn impressyon,
that ²sodenly / I felle² can hir bost,
and al hir wrong / ymagynacion);
I can make 'em
love the foulest
slut
yt shal not ben / in her elleccion, 236
the foulest slutte / of al a³ toвне refuse,⁴
yf that me lyst⁵ / for al that they can muse; 238

[35]

- as if she were a
duchess.
But hir in hert / as brenyngly desire, 239
as thogh she were / a duchesse or a quene;
so can I folkes hertys / set on fire,
and as me list hem⁶ sende / Ioy or tene.
they that to wommen / ⁷ben ywhett⁷ so kene, 243
my sharp[e] ⁸persyng strokes / how they⁸ smyte,
shul fele, and knowe / and how ⁹they kerve⁹ and byte.

[36]

- Ovid too,
and other
Perdee,¹⁰ this grete¹¹ clerke / this sotil Ouyde, 246
and ¹²mony another / han¹² deceyved be
of women) / as yt knowen ys ful wyde;
Wote no man¹³ more / and that is grete deynte,
so excellent a clerk / as that was he, 250
abusers, were
trickt by women.
and other me that koude / so¹⁴ wel preche,
betrapped wer / for aght¹⁵ they coude teche. 252

[37]

- Women are up to
them and their
liee.
And trusteth wel / that yt¹⁶ is no mervaylle, 253
ffor women ¹⁷knywen / pleylnly¹⁷ hir entent;
they wiste how sotyly / they koude assayle
hem, and ¹⁸what falshode / they in hert[e]¹⁸ ment;
and ¹⁹this clerkys / they¹⁹ in hir daunger hent; 257

¹ is the D Sp., is F. ²⁻³ sotelly y felle T. ³ in all the Sp., be B. ⁴ to refuse B. ⁵ lust D. ⁶ sem T. ⁷⁻⁷ yhurt S. ⁸⁻⁸ strokis Percyng quho 3e S. ⁹⁻⁹ 3e berñ S. ¹⁰ Parde D. ¹¹ om. Sp. ¹²⁻¹² many D, m. oñe othir haue S. ¹³ Wote no man S, What no men F. ¹⁴ full Sp. ¹⁵ ought D. ¹⁶ ys F, it Sp. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ knewe full p. S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ y¹ . . . thair hert S. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ thus they clerkys Sp., haue for they S.

with oo venym / another was distroyed ;
and thus thise clerkes / often were anoyed. 259

[38]

These ladyes ne thise gentils / neuerthelesse, were noon of thoo / that wroghten in this wysse ; ¹ but swyche ² filthes ³ / as weren vertulesse, they quytten thus / this olde clerkis wisse ; ⁴ To ⁵ clerkis, ⁶ for-thy, lesse ⁶ may ⁷ suffyse than to deprave ⁸ wommen / generally ; for worshippe shul they gete / noon therby.	260 264 266	Ladies didn't do this, but only queans. Clerks should not defame women.
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[39]

If that thise men / that louers hem pretende, to women weren ⁹ faythfull / good ⁹ and trewe, and dreden hem / to deceyven or offende, women, to loue hem / wolde nat eschewe ; but euery day hath man / an herte ¹⁰ newe : yt, vpon oon, abide / can no while. what fors ys it / swich a wight to be-gile ?	267 271 273	If these pretended lovers were true to women, women would love them.
--	---------------------------------------	--

[40]

Men beren eke this women / vpon honde, that lyghtly / and wyth-uten ¹¹ any peyne, they ¹² wonne ben / they can ¹² no wyght ¹² withstonde, that his disease / list to hem compleyne : ¹³ they been so freel / they mowe hem nat refreyne ; ¹³ but who so lyketh / may hem lyghtly haue, so ben hir hertys / eay in to graue. ¹⁴	274 277 280	Men say too that any man can win women, so frail are they.
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[41]

To ¹⁵ maister Iohn de Meun / as I suppose, Than ¹⁶ yt was / a lewde occupacion In makynge of the Romance / of the Rose,	281	It was a nasty job of Jean de Meun,
---	-----	---

¹ wise Sp. ² suche D. ³ filthes S. ⁴ wise Sp. ⁵ To Sp., The F D. ⁶⁻⁸ for they lasse D. ⁷ might Sp. ⁸ disprauē Sp. ⁹⁻¹⁰ g. f. T. ¹⁰ hert F D, hurte Sp. ¹¹ wyth out D, without eny B. ¹²⁻¹³ women ben that can S. ¹²⁻¹³ They be so fre T, not D B, Thai haue suich mercj / they may no man with-seyne S. ¹⁴ graue D Sp., crane F. ¹⁵ To D Sp., I F. ¹⁶ Then D Sp., an F.

in his *Romance of the Rose*, to devise so many tricks to deceive a poor girl.

so many a sly / ymagynacion)
and perils¹ / for to rollen² vp and doun, 285
so longe processe / so many a slye cautele,
for to deceyve / a sely damesele ! 287

[42]

Nat³ can I⁴ seen / ne⁴ my wytte comprehende, 288
that art and peyn⁵ / and sotilte [s]holde⁶ faylle
for to conquere / and sone make an ende,
whan man a feble place / shal⁷ assaylle,
and⁸ soone also⁸ / to venquyssh a bataylle, 292
of whiche no wyght / dar maken⁹ resistance,
Ne hert hath noon / to stonden at¹⁰ defence ; 294

[43]

But if it takes
so much trouble
to deceive a
woman,

surely she's more
constant than
some clerks say.

Than¹¹ yt moot folowen¹¹ / of necessite, 295
syn¹² art asketh / so grete engyn and payne
a woman¹³ to dysceve / what she¹³ be
of constance¹⁴ / they ben¹⁵ not so bareyne
as that somme of thise / sotil clerkys feyne ;¹⁶ 299
but they ben / as that wommen oghten be,¹⁷
sad / constant / and fulfilled of pite.¹⁸ 301

[44]

See what a friend
Medea was to the
false Jason,

How frendely was / Medea to Iason 302
in the¹⁹ conquering / of the flees²⁰ of golde !
how falsly quyt he / hir affeccion,
by whom victorie he gate / as he hath²¹ wolde !
how may this man, for shame / be²² so bolde 306
to falsen²³ hir / that from his dethe and shame
him kept,²⁴ and gat him / so grete pris and name ? 308

¹ perelous T, perillis S. ² roth D. ³ Not D. ⁴⁻⁴ say ne Sp. S, ne in F. ⁵ part S. ⁶ shulde T, schuld S. ⁷⁻⁷ When D, Quhen a man schall a f. p. S. ⁸ also roth S. ⁹ may make Sp. ¹⁰ to make any Sp. ¹¹⁻¹¹ mote It falow S, folowe D. ¹² sich S, om. so. ¹³⁻¹³ for to Dissaue quho S: what so Sp. ¹⁴ confiaunce B, constaunte S. ¹⁵ be they Sp. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ As ar sum men Or othir subtile clerkys S. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ richt as Women ought to be S, ought to D. ¹⁸ bountee S. ¹⁹ the grete D, the om. S. ²⁰ flees D, fleco Sp., flec F, flesse S. ²¹ haue D, S om. hath. ²² durst be D. ²³ flaylen D T. ²⁴ helped, om. him, a priss S.

[45]

Of troye also / the traytour ¹ Eneas,	309	and Dido to the faithless wretch Eneas.
the feythles wrechch / how hath he him for-swore ²		
to dido, that queen / of Cartage was,		
that him releved / of his ³ smertys sore ! ³		
what gentillesse ⁴ myght she / han doon) more	313	
than ⁵ she with hert vnfeyned / to hym kydde ?		
and what myscheffe ⁶ to hir / ther-of ⁶ betydde !	315	

[46]

In my legende of Martres ⁷ / men may ⁸ fynde	316	In my <i>Legend of Martyrs</i> you may see that catha can bind no man,
(who so ⁹ that lyketh therin / for ¹⁰ to rede,)		
that oothe in no ¹¹ behest / ¹² may no man) bynde ; ¹²		
of repreuable shame / han they no drede ;		
In mannes hert[e] / trouthe hath no ¹³ stede ;	320	
the soyl ys noght / ther may no trouthe growe !		
to womman namely / yt is nat un-knowe. ¹⁴	322	as women know.

[47]

Clerkes seyn also / 'ther is no malice	323	Clerks say there's no naughtiness like a woman's.
vnto a ¹⁵ womans / crabbed wykkydnesse !'		
O woman ! how shalt thou ¹⁶ / thy self chevice,		
¹⁷ syn men) of ¹⁷ the / so ¹⁸ muchel harme wytnesse ! ¹⁸		
No fors ! doo forth / take ¹⁹ no ²⁰ heuynesse !	327	
kepe ²⁰ thyw) ownē / ²¹ what men) clappe ²¹ or crake !		
and somme of hem shul smert / I vndertake !	329	

[48]

'Malice' of women) / what is yt to drede ?	330	But women's naughtiness
they sle no men) / dystroyen ²² no citees !		
²³ they not oppresen folke / ne over-lede, ²³		

¹ Duke D. ² forfare S. ³⁻⁵ hertes a. S. ⁴ gentillesse D. ⁵ Than) D, That F B. ⁶⁻⁸ thare-of to hir S. ⁷ Cupid's or Chaucer's 'Legend of Good Women' [Skeat]. Speght wrongly reads 'natures.' ⁸ may men) D T. ⁹ om. D. ¹⁰ om. D. ¹¹ othe ne Sp. S T. ¹²⁻¹³ men may finde S. ¹³ neur S. ¹⁴ not vmk[n]owe D. ¹⁵ om. D. ¹⁶ ahalow T. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ Sith D, Sich men to S. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ moche harin alle gois S ; moche D, soch (for 'so muchel') Sp. ¹⁹ and take S. ²⁰ noon D. Speght's line is 'Beth ware, women, of her fikelnesse.' ²¹⁻²¹ quhat so men clepe S. ²² ne dystroy S. ²³⁻²³ ne not oppresses folk In no seyn led S.

doesn't hurt
kingdoms or set
houses on fire.

betray Empires / ¹Remes ne ducheas,¹
ne men² bereve hir landes / ne hir Mees,^{2 3} 334
empoysone folkys / ne houses set on fire,
ne false contractes / maken for non⁴ hire ! 336

[49]

Women have, as
a rule, trust, love
and good morals.

Trust, perfyte loue / and entere⁶ charyte, 337
fervent⁶ wyl / and entenlented⁷ corage
⁸be thewes⁸ good / as ⁹yt sytt⁹ wel to be,
han women ay¹⁰ / of custome and vsage ;
and wel they kan / a¹¹ mannes yre aswage 341
with soft[e] wordes / discreet¹² and benigne :
what they be¹⁸ Inward / sheweth¹⁴ outwarde sygne.

[50]

Women's hearts
are devout and
amiable.

Womman[ne]s herte / vn-to no cruelte 344
enclyned ys / but they ben charitable,
pitouse, devoute / ful of humylite,
shamefaste,¹⁵ debonarie¹⁶ / and amyable,
Dredful / and of¹⁷ hir wordes mesurable : 348
what woman thise¹⁸ / hath not, perauenture,
¹⁹Ne folweth nat¹⁹ / the wey of hir nature. 350

(If otherwise,
they're un-
natural.)

[51]

Men say that Eve
made all folk
lose their liberty.

Men seyn, 'oure first[e] moder / natheles, 351
made al man-kynde / lese²⁰ his lyberte,
and naked yt²¹ of Ioy[e] / douteles ;
²²ffor goddis hestes / disobeyed she,²²
whan she presumed / tasten of a²³ tre 355
wichch²⁴ god forbad / that she ne ete of sholde ;
²⁵and nade the deuel ben / namore she wolde.'²⁵ 357

¹⁻¹ realmis ne Duchess S, Duchesses D. ²⁻² bireven D, bereueñ landes nor
thar socs S. ³ Messuages, houses and lands, holdings. See *Catholicon*. ⁴ no D.
⁵ euir S. ⁶ frauard S. ⁷ entalented D B. ⁸⁻⁸ To D, All Sp., To thewis S B T.
⁹⁻⁹ sittith D Sp. ¹⁰ euer Sp. ¹¹ they conne Sp. ¹² swete D S. ¹³ ben D.
¹⁴ they shew Sp. ¹⁵ Shamefull S. ¹⁶ debonayr D. ¹⁷ and of D Sp., of F.
¹⁸ that S. ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ Followeth not Sp. ²⁰ lose D, to lese S. ²¹ him S. ²²⁻²² for that
. . . hest disobeyt she S, heste T. ²³ the D Sp. B T. ²⁴ That Sp. ²⁵⁻²⁵ But
jit ye fend that agayñ stodeñ wold S, ne wolde F.

[52]

The envionse suellyng / that the fend, our fo, 358
 had vnto man in herte¹ / for his welthe,
 sent a serpent / and made hir for to go
 to deceyve Eve / and thus was mannes helthe²
 beraft³ him by the fende / ryght⁴ in a stelthe, 362
 the woman⁴ noght knowyng⁴ / of the⁵ deceyt :
 gode wote, ful⁶ fer was yt / from⁶ hir conceyt. 364

But it was the
Devil who did
this.

[53]

Wherefore I sey⁷ this / good[e] woman Eve, 365
 our fader Adam / ne deceyved noght,
 ther may no man / for a deceyt yt prove
 proprely, but yf that she / in hir thoght
 had it compassed⁸ first / ⁹er yt was⁹ wrought ; 369
 and for swich was nat hir¹⁰ / impressyon,¹¹
 Men¹² calle / yt may,¹² no deceyt¹³ by reson. 371

Eve didn't
deceive Adam.

[54]

No¹⁴ wyght deceyveth / but he yt¹⁵ purpose ; 372
 the fende¹⁶ this deceyt cast / and nothing¹⁶ she ;
 than ys yt wronge / to demen or suppose
 that she sholde of this¹⁷ harme / the cause be.
 witeth the fende / and his¹⁸ be the¹⁸ Mawgre, 376
 and for excused / haue¹⁹ hir Innocence,
 sauf oonly that she / breeke²⁰ obedyence. 378

The Devil did.

Blame him.

[55]

And touching that²¹ / ful fewe men ther ben— 379
 Vnnethes²² any / dar I saufly seye—
 fro day to day / as²³ that men now²³ wel seen,
 but that²⁴ the hest / of god they dysobaye :
 haue this in mynde / sires,²⁵ I yow preye ; 383

disobeys God.

¹ harte Sp., hert F D. ² wealth Sp. ³⁻⁵ S om. him and reads and ry³: right even) D, by the fende Sp. ⁴⁻⁵ kn. no⁴ S. ⁵ that Sp. ⁶⁻⁸ fer It was from S. ⁷ S inserts that. ⁸ purposit S. ⁹⁻⁹ or she it Sp. ¹⁰ hir D, hit F. ¹¹ entencious S. ¹²⁻¹² may call it D, may it call Sp. ¹³ disceipt of her Sp. ¹⁴ Ne no Sp. ¹⁵ om. Sp. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ yis desaitte . . . nat S. ¹⁷ his D, That of his harme she should Sp. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ hie S. ¹⁹ hald S. ²⁰ brake D Sp. ²¹ this Sp. ²² Vnnethe. ²³⁻²³ men mowe D, as men may all day see Sp., mow T. ²⁴ om. D. ²⁵ Seris D.

yf that ye be discreet / and resonable,
¹ye wol hir hold[en] / the¹ more excusable. 385

[56]

And when men
 say women are
 unstable,

And where² men seyn / in man ys stedfastnesse, 386
 and woman ys / of hir corage vnstable,
 Who may of Adam / bere swiche³ witnesse?

I ask 'Wasn't
 Adam change-
 able?'

telleth me this / was he nat chaungeable?
 they⁴ bothe weren / in a caas semblable;⁴ 390
 sauf willyngly the feende / deceyued Eve,
 and so dide she nat Adam / by your leue. 392

[57]

Yet God

took flesh of a
 Virgin,

Yet was this synne⁵ / happy to man-kynde: 393
 the feende deceyved was / for al his sleyght;
 for aught⁶ he coude him / in his sleythes wynde,
⁷god, to discharge⁷ mankynde / of the weight⁸
 of⁹ his trespass, cam¹⁰ down / from the¹¹ hevenes height,
 and flessch and blood / ¹²he tooke of A¹² virgyne,
 and suffred deth / him¹³ to delyuer of pyne! 399

[58]

and if He'd
 known that
 woman was so
 bad as men say
 she is, He'd never
 have been born
 of her.

And god, to whom / ther may no thing hyd be, 400
 yf he in woman knowe / had suche malyce
 as men of hem recorde / in generalte;
 of¹⁴ our lady, of lyfe / reparatrice,
 Nolde han be born / but ¹⁵for that¹⁵ she of vice 404
 Was woyde / and of al vertu (wel he wyste)
 endowed¹⁶ / of hir to be bore hym liste. 406

[59]

She is so full of
 virtues that no
 man can express
 them.

Hir heped¹⁷ vertu / hath swich¹⁸ excellence, 407
 that al to leene¹⁹ / ys mannes faculte
 to declare yt / and ther-for in suspence,

¹⁻¹ 3e wold hold womē ye S, hir wolde D. ² whan B. ³ suche D, soch a Sp,
⁴⁻⁴ boith ware cause symiable S, o case Sp. ⁵ MS. fynne. ⁶ thowich S. ⁷⁻⁷ God
 dischargit S. ⁸ plicht S. ⁹ for S. ¹⁰ come D. ¹¹ om. S. ¹²⁻¹² tuke of a cleyā
 S. ¹³ man D. ¹⁴ MS. yf. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ om. D. ¹⁶ Endewed D. ¹⁷ happy D, hicht S.
¹⁸ such D. ¹⁹ low S.

hir duë preysing / put moot nedes be ;
 but this I sey / [right] verraly, that she, 411
 next god, ¹the best frend ys¹ / that to men longeth : Next God, she is
 the key of mercye by² hir girdille hongeth. 413 man's best friend.

[60]

And of mercye / hath euery man swich³ nede, 414
 that, cessyng⁴ that / farewel the Ioy of man!
 of her power / now taketh⁵ ryght⁶ good hede !
 she mercye may / wol,⁷ and purchace kan !
 dysplese⁸ hir nat⁹ / honureth that woman, 418 Women can win
 and other women al[le]¹⁰ / for hir sake ! men mercy.
 and but ye do / your sorowe shal a-wake ! 420

[61]

Thou preciouſe gemme / O martir¹¹ Margarete, 421 Witness the con-
 of¹² thy blood / draddest noon effuſion ! stancy of
 thy martirdome / ¹³ne may I nat¹³ foryete !¹⁴ St. Margaret
 thou constant womman / in thy paſſyon the martyr.
 ouercoom¹⁵ the feendis / temptacion : 425
 and many a wyght¹⁶ / conuerted thy doctryne,
¹⁷Vnto the feith of God / holy virgyne !¹⁷ 427

[62]

But vnderſtondeth / I commende hir noght 428 Her I praise,
 by encheson / of hir virginite. not for her
 truſteth ryght¹⁸ wel¹⁹ / it cam neuer in my thoght, virginity,
 for euer werre y²⁰ / ayein²¹ chaſtite,
 and ever ²²shal / but this, lo, meueſt me,²³ 432
 hir louyng hert / and conſtant to hir lay, but for her
 dryue oute of my rem[em]braunce / I ne may ! 434 conſtancy.

¹⁻¹ is the best frende B. ² at Sp. ³ ſuche D. ⁴ wanting S. ⁵ takith nowe D. ⁶ here S. ⁷ weſt D Sp. ⁸ Diſpleaſe S. ⁹ not D. ¹⁰ And all other women S. ¹¹ of martirs Sp. ¹² That of Sp. ¹³⁻¹³ may I not D. ¹⁴ Speght's line is : 'Thou lower true, thou maiden manſuete.' ¹⁵ ouercame Sp. ¹⁶ mañ S. ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ From Aſhb. MS. god / holy D. Speght, / holy God thou, 1602, fol. 312, back, col. 2. F B omit l. 441. ¹⁸ om. S. ¹⁹ om. 'ryght wel' Sp. ²⁰ werrey F, I werrey D S T. ²¹ A yens D. ²²⁻²² I ſhaſt / but lo this mouyſh D, (lo this) Sp, lo this commend me S.

[63]

Who can find	In any boke also / where can ye fynde,	435
	(that of the werkis / ¹ or the ¹ dethe or lyfe of Ihesu speketh / or maketh any mynde,)	
that any woman forsook Christ?	that wommen him forsook ² / for woo or stryfe? wher was ³ ther any wyght / so ententyfe ³	439
But all the Apostles did.	a-bouten ⁴ him / as women? pardee ⁵ noon! thapostels hym forsoken ⁶ / euerychon!	441

[64]

	Womman forsooke hym nocht / for al the feyth	442
	of holy chirche / in womman left onoly :	
	this is no lees / for thus ⁷ holy wryt seyeth. Lok ! and ye shal so fynde yt / hardely ; ⁸	
In woman, then, lies constancy ;	and therfore I may ⁹ preve / wel herby, ⁹	446
	that in womman regneth / stable constance ;	
in man, change.	and in men / ys the ¹⁰ chaunge and ¹¹ variance !	448

[65]

	Now holdeth this for ferme / and for no lye,	449
And my true laud of women	that this ¹² trew / and Iust ¹² commendacion of women, tolde ¹³ / I nat ¹⁴ for flaterye, ne to cause hem ¹⁵ pride / or ¹⁶ elacion,	
is to help them to persevere in virtue,	but onoly loo / for this entencion),	453
	to yeve hem corage / of perseueraunce	
	In vertu / and ¹⁷ hir honure to enhaunce. ¹⁸	455

[66]

	The more vertu / the lasse is the prida.	456
	vertu so digne is / and so noble in kynde,	
	that vice and [s]he ¹⁹ / wol not ²⁰ in feere abide :	
	[s]he putteth vyce ²¹ / clene out of hi[r] mynde,	459
	[s]he fleeth from him / [s]he leueth ²² him behynde !	

¹⁻¹ othir S. ² hym forsoke D, him forsook Sp. F. ³⁻³ any so Inly ententyfe S. ⁴ About D. ⁵ pruned Sp., for pardee. ⁶ The Apostelis forsoke hym D, him forsoken Sp., forsoken hym F B. ⁷ om. S. ⁸ redely S. ⁹⁻⁹ prove weft therby D, wel preve herby F B, therby Sp. ¹⁰ om. D. ¹¹ of Sp. ¹²⁻¹² Iust and trew S. ¹³ writt S. ¹⁴ not D, tel I for no Sp. ¹⁵ Ne bicause of Sp. ¹⁶ nor S. ¹⁷ om. D. ¹⁸ auauance Sp. ¹⁹ sche S. ²⁰ om. S. ²¹ om. S, reads clere, hir. ²² put S.

O womman / that of wertu art hostesse,¹
 gret ys thyn honor / and thy worthynesse ! 462

of which, woman
 is the hostesse.

[67]

Than wol we thus / concluden and dyffyne : 463
 we yow comaunde / oure Ministres echon,
 that redy² been / to oure hestes² enclyne,
 that, of thise false³ men / our reble⁴ foon,
 ye do punyshement⁵ / and that anon ! 467
 voide⁶ hem our⁶ court / and banyssh hem⁷ for euer,
 so that⁸ ther-in / they ne come more⁸ neuer. 469

Then, my
 servants,

turn these false
 rebels of men out
 of my Court!

[68]

ffulfilled be⁹ yt / cessyng al delay !⁹ 470
 look [that]¹⁰ ther be noon / excusacion
¹¹ writen in the ayer / the lusty¹¹ moneth of May,
 In oure paleys / where many A Milion
 of louers trwe / han habitacion, 474
 the yere of grace / Ioyful and Iocunde
 A thousand and¹² foure houndred / and¹³ secounde. 476

Written in May,

1402.

¶ Explicit *littera* Cupidinis ¹⁴dei amatoris
 directæ suis subditis.¹⁴

(In a late hand, Stowe's ?) T. hocheve.

¹ hostresse Sp., Hostes S. ²⁻³ ye be oure hestes to Sp.
³ false Sp., om. F D. ⁴ rebell Sp. ⁵ punicioun S. ⁶⁻⁸ thame
 your S. ⁷ thame S. ⁸⁻⁸ here after therin they come D, therein
 more come they Sp. ⁹⁻⁹ this precept without D S. ¹⁰ S in-
 serts that. ¹¹⁻¹¹ Wretyn in the lusty D Sp. (Read 'th' ayer'
 as one syllable.) ¹² om. D Sp. S. ¹³ the D. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ Explicit etc
 S. directæ subditis suis amatoribus D T, the lettre of Cupide
 god of loue directed to his suggestys louers, B. [At end of
 line, and of other poems, 'Lyty'; † the rubricator, B.]

The title of the poem in Stowe's edition of 1561, Fol. cccxxvi, back, and in Speght's edition of 1602, is :

"The Letter of Cupide. This letter was made by Thomas Occeleue of the office of the priuy Seale, Chaucers scholler ; and was by him termed, A Treatise of the conuersation of men and women in the little Island of Albion : which gate him such hatred among the gentlewomen of the Court, that he was inforced to recant in that booke of his, called *Planctus proprius*." ¹—Speght 1602, Fol. 310, back, col. 1, at foot.

¹ The *Complaint* that follows here, from the Durham MS.

The Fairfax MS has the stanzas of the *Letter of Cupid* in the following wrong order : 1-6, 17-26, 7-9, 30-36, 47-9, 10-16, 37-9, 50-9, 40-6, 27-9, 60, 61-2, 63-4, 65-8. In the text above, the stanzas are set in the right order of Hoccleve's autograph Ashburnham MS, which was got only at the last moment, years after the Fairfax MS had been printed, and collated with a lot of other poor MSS, and when I had no hope of getting access to the Ashburnham MS.

Speght has the order of stanzas right to no. 60, but then puts 63, 64 before 61, 62. Nos. 65-8 he has right.

A partial collation of the Ashburnham MS, as well as of Shirley's MS at Trinity Coll. Cambridge, is given in the Notes below, with extracts from Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre de Cupide*, from which Hoccleve adapted his poem. Mr. Gollancz will print the Ashburnham MS as Part II of Hoccleve's *Minor Poems* for the Early English Text Society.

II. HOCCEVE'S COMPLAINT, &c.

DURHAM MS.

Collated in part with MS. *Arch. Seld. Supra* 53 (Bodleian Library).

The title of the poem in Stowe's edition of 1561, Fol. cccxxvi, back, and in Speght's edition of 1602, is:

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II. HOCCLEVE'S COMPLAINT, &c.

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Durham MS. III. 9.

After the two fly-leaves, the first 10 paper leaves of the poem—all the *Complaint*, and the beginning of the *Dialog*—are in the handwriting of John Stowe, the Chronicler.

Collation of vellum sheets: *a* and *b* in eights missing; *c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m*, in eights; *n* 1—3.

XX.

[*Durham Hoccleve* : III. 9.]Thomas Hoccleve[*'s* Complaint.¹]

[leaf 3]

[*The Prolog.*]

(1)

- A fter that heruest Inned had his sheves,² 1 After Michaelmas,
 and that the broune³ season⁴ of myhelmesse
 was come, and gan the trees robbe of ther⁵ leves
 That grene had bene⁶ / and in lusty freshnesse,
 and them⁷ in-to colowre / of yelownesse 5
 hadd dyen⁸ / and doune throwne vnder⁹ foote,
 that chaunge sank¹⁰ / into myne herte roote. 7 the fall of the leaves

(2)

- for freshly brought it¹¹ / to my remembraunce, 8 reminded me
 that stablenes in this worlde is there none ;
 there is no thinge / but chaunge and variaunce ;
 how welthye¹² a man be / or well be-gone,¹³ that man's wealth quite him,
 endure it shall not / he shall it for-gon.¹⁴ 12
 deathe¹⁵ vnder fote / shall hym thrist adowne : and he dies.
 that is every wites¹⁶ / conclusyon. 14

(3)

- whiche for to weyue / is in no mannes¹⁷ myght, 15
 how riche he be / stronge, lusty, freshe, and gay.
 and in the ende / of novembar, vpon a nyght, Late in November

[The various readings are from the Selden MS, unless markt Dm. for the Durham MS, or St. for Stowe's part of the Durham MS.]

¹ Pencil : later. ² W. Browne [in margin].
³ broun, Selden ; brome, Stowe. ⁴ sesoun ⁵ her ⁶ ben
⁷ hem ⁸ died ⁹ throwen vnder ¹⁰ altered from 'sange' in Dm.
¹¹ brouȝte it' [brought Dm] ¹² welthi ¹³ wel be-goon
¹⁴ for-goon ¹⁵ Deeth ¹⁶ wites ¹⁷ mannes (mans, St.)

I lay awake
thinking.

syghenge sore / as I in my bed lay,
for this and othar thought¹ / whiche many a day 19
before² I toke / sleape cam none in myne eye,
so vexyd me / the thoughtfull maladye. 21

(4)

Since my last
illnesse,

I see well, sythen³ I with sycknes last 22
was scourged / clowdy hath bene the favoure
that shone [on]⁴ me / full bright in tymes past;
the sonne abatid / and the derke showre
hildyd downe right on me / and in langour 26

I didn't want to
live;

he⁵ made [me] swyme / so that my wite⁶
to lyve / no lust hadd, ne [no]⁷ delyte. 28

(5)

I grievd so

The grefe abowte / my⁸ harte so⁹ [sore] swal 29
and bolned evar / to and to so sore,

that I was forst

that nedes / oute I must[e] there-with-all;
I thought I nolde it kepe¹⁰ cloos no more,
ne lett it in me / for to olde¹¹ and hore; 33

to speak out,

and for to preve¹² / I cam of a woman, 35
I brast oute on the morowe / and thus began.

here endythe my prologe . and folowythe my
complaynt.

[*The Complaint.*]

(6)

[leaf 3, back]

A ll myghty god / as lykethe his goodnes, 36
visytethe folks¹³ alday / as men may se,
with lose of good / and bodily sikenese,
and amonge othar / he forgat not me;

God made me
mad.

witnes vppon the wyld infirmytie 40
which that I had / as many a man well knewe,
and whiche me owt of my selfe¹⁴ / cast and threw. 42

¹ opir þouztis² Byforne³ I sy wel sithin⁴ shoon on⁵ Me ⁶ spirite (*for* wite) ⁷ ne no [*no* added above the line]⁸ myn ⁹ so sore [*sore* added above the line] ¹⁰ nolde / kepe it'¹¹ celde¹² prene: pryve St.¹³ vesiteþ folke¹⁴ silfe

(7)

It was so knowen to the people / and kouthe,	43	Every one knew it.
that counsell was it none / ne none be myght[e];		
how it with me stode / was in every mans ¹ mowthe,		
and that full sore / my fryndes ² affright[e];		My friends went
they for myne helthe / pilgrimages hight[e],	47	pilgrimages for me.
and sowght them ³ / some on hors and some on foote,—		
god yelde it them ³ /— to get[en] me [my] bote. ⁴	49	

(8)

but althowghe the substaunce / of my memory	50	I lost my memory,
went[e] to pley / as for a certayne space,		
yet the lorde of vertew / the kynge of glory,		
of his highe myght / and ⁵ [his] benynge grace,		
made it to returne / in-to the place	54	but it came back
when[ne]s it cam / whiche ⁶ at all hallwe messe,		on Nov. 1,
was five yeere / neyther more ne leese.	56	5 years ago,

(9)

And evere ⁷ sythen /—thanked be god owr lord,	57	
of his good ⁸ reconsiliacion,—		
my wyt and I / have bene of suche accorde		and has remaind.
as we were / or the alteracion		
of it was / but by my savacion,	61	
[Sith] that ⁹ tyme have I be / sore sett on fire,		
and lyved in great torment / and martire;	63	

(10)

for though that my wit / were home ¹⁰ come agayne,		
men wolde it not ¹¹ so vnderstond or take;	65	
with me to dealē / hadden they dysdayne;		
a ryotows person I was / and forsake;		
myn olde frindshipec / was all owarshake;	68	But my old friends have cut me.
no wyte ¹² withe me lyst make daliance;		
the worlde me made a straunge continance,	70	

¹ mannes: mans St. ² frendis: frynds St. ³ hem
⁴ me my boote ⁵ and his ⁶ was St. om. was ⁷ every St.
⁸ good and gracious St. ⁹ Sith þat ¹⁰ hoom
¹¹ not: no St. ¹² wijt

(11)

[leaf 4]	whiche ¹ that myne herte / sore gan ² torment[e];	71
In Westminster	for ofte whan I / in westmynster hall[e],	
Hall and London	and eke in london / amonge the prese ³ went[e],	
	I se ⁴ the chere / abaten and apalle	
	of them ⁵ that weren wonte me for to calle	75
they turnd their	to companye / her heed they caste a-wry[e],	
heads from me.	when I them mette / as they not me sye.	77

(12)

	As seide is in the sauter / might I say,	78
	they that me sye / fledden a-wey fro me ;	
I was forgotten.	forgeten I was / all owte of mynde a-way,	
	as he that dede was / from hertes cherte ;	
	to a loste vessell / lickened myght I be ;	82
	for many a wyght / abowte me dwellynge,	
	herd I me blame / and putte in dispreysinge.	84

(13)

	Thus spake many one ⁶ / and seyde by me :	85
Folk said I should	'all-thowghe from hym / his siknesse savage	
go mad again.	with-drawne and passyd / as for a tyme be,	
	Resorte it wole / namely in suche age	
	as he is of ⁷ / and thanne my visage	89
	bygan to glowe / for the woo and fere ;	
	The wordis, them vnwar / cam to myn ere.	91

(14)

	'whane passinge hete is,' quod they, 'trustyth this,	92
	assaile hym wole ⁷ agayne that maladie ;'	
	and yet parde / they token them amise ;	
Yet I havn't gone	none ⁸ effect at all / toke there ⁹ prophecie ;	
so.	manie someres ben past / sithen remedye	96
	¹⁰ of that, god of his grace me purveide :	
	¹⁰ thanked be god / it shope nought ¹¹ as they seide.	98

¹ with ² gan to St. ³ prees ⁴ sy ⁵ hem ⁶ oone⁷ him wole : wole hym St. ⁸ Noon ⁹ her¹⁰⁻¹⁰ these lines as in Seld. : transposed by St. ¹¹ shoop not*

(15)

what fall[e] shall / what men so ¹ deme or gesse,	99	
to hym that wott ² [well] every mans ³ secre,		
reservyd is / it is a lew[e]dnesse,		
men wyser them pretende / then they be ;		Men shouldn't
and no wight knoweth / be it he or she,	103	pretend to know
whom, how ne whan / god wole hym visete ;		what'll happen.
It happethe ofte ⁴ / whan men wene it lite.	105	

(16)

Some tyme I wend / as lite as any man,	106	[leaf 4, back]
for to have fall / in-to that wildenesse		
but god, whan [that] hym list / may, wole and can,		God sends sick-
helthe with-drawe / and send a wyght sycknesse ;		ness or health
Thowghe man be well this day / no sykernesse	110	
to hym bihight is / that it shall endure ;		
god hurte now can / and nowe hele and cure.	112	as He likes.

(17)

he suffrith longe / [but] at ⁵ the laste he smit ;	113
whane that a man is / in prosperite,	
To drede a fall comynge / it is a wit ;	
who so that takethe hede / ofte may se	
This worldis change / and mūtabilite	117
In sondry wyse / howe nedeth not expresse :	
To my mater / streit wole I me dresse.	119

(18)

Men seyden, I loked / as a wilde steer,	120	Men said I lookt
and so my loke abowt I gan to throwe ;		wild,
myne heed to hie / a-nother seide I beer,		
ful bukkyshe is his brayne / well may I trowe ;		that my brain
and seyde the thirde ⁶ / and apt is in the rowe	124	was buckish,
to site of them / that a resounles reed		
Can geve ⁷ / no sadnesse is in his heed.	126	

¹ whatso men ² woot ³ hertis ⁴ often
⁵ but at ⁶ thridde ⁷ Can he jeue

(19)

Chaungid had I my¹ pas / some seiden eke, 127
 for here and there / forthe stirte I as a Roo,
 none abode² / none arrest, but all brain-seke.
 A-nother spake / and of me seide also,
 and my feet and eyes never still. my feete weren aye / wavynge to and fro 131
 whane that I stonde shulde / and withe men talke,
 and that myne eyne³ / sowghten every halke. 133

(20)

I leide an ere aye to / as I by⁴ wente, 134
 So I thought and herde all / and thus in myne herte I ca- t :
 of longe abydyng here / I may repent[e];⁵
 leste, of hastinesse / I at the last[e]
 I'd better go away; answe- a-myse / best is hens hye fast[e]; 138
 for yf I in this preace / a-mysse me gye,
 to harme will⁶ it me turne / and to folly[e]. 140

(21)

And this I demyd well / and knew well eke, 141
 [leaf 5] what-so-evar I shuld answe- re or sey,
 they wold[en]⁷ not have⁸ holde it worthe a leke ;
 for why / as I hadd lost my tonges key,
 Kepte I me cloos / and trussyd me my wey, 145
 but I was very sad. drowpyng and hevye / and all woo bystad ;
 small cawse had I / me thowght[e], to be glade. 147

(22)

My sprites / laboryd [euere] bysyly⁹ 148
 to peinte countinaunce¹⁰ / chere and loke,
 Men's talk of me made me go cold and hot, for that men spake of me / so wonderingly,
 and for the very shame / and fere I qwoke;¹¹
 thowghe myne herte had be / dypped in y^e broke, 152
 It wete and moyste I-now was of my swot,
 whiche was nowe frostye colde / now firy hoot. 154

¹ me ² Noon abood ³ yen ⁴ by : be St.
⁵ may me repent ⁶ wole ⁷ wolden ⁸ han
⁹ labouriden / euere ful bisily ¹⁰ countenaunce ¹¹ wook

(23)

And in my chamber at home when I¹ was 155 At home I lookt
 my selfe alone² / I in this wyse wrowght :
 I streite vnto my myrrowr / and my glas,
 to loke how that me / of my chere thowght[c],
 yf any [other] were³ it / than it owght[e] ; 159
 for fayne wolde I / yf it had not⁴ be right,
 amendyd it / to my künynge and myght. 161

(24)

Many a sawte made I to this myrrowre, 162
 thinkynge, "yf that I loke in this manere
 amonge folke / as I now do,⁵ none errowr
 of suspecte loke / may in my face appere,
 this countinance, I am svre,⁶ and this chere, 166
 If I forthe vse / is no thinge reprevable
 to them that have / conseytes resonable." 168

(25)

And there-with-all / I thowght[e] thus anon : 169
 "men in theyr⁷ owne case / bene blynd alday,
 as I haue hard say / many a day agon,
 and in that [same] plyght⁸ / I stonde may ;
 how shall I doo / which is the best[e] way, 173
 my trowbled spirit / for to bringe at⁹ rest[e] ?
 yf I wist howe / fayne wolde I do the best[e]." 175

(26)

Sythen I recoveryd was / have I full ofte 176 [leaf 5, back]
 Cawse had of angre / and ympacience,
 where I borne have it¹⁰ / esely and softe,
 sufferynge wronge be done to me, and offence,
 and nowght¹¹ answeyrd ageyn / but kept sylence, 180
 lest that men of me / deme would, and seyne,
 'se how this man / is fallen in agayne.' 182

¹ þat I ² aloone ³ othir were ⁴ not had bene
⁵ nowe do ⁶ sure ⁷ her ⁸ same plite ⁹ in ¹⁰ it
¹¹ not

and thought I
 was all right,

but perhaps
 couldn't see my
 real state.

I've sufferd
 wrong,
 and held my
 tongue.

(27)

Coming from Westminster,	As that I ones ¹ / fro westmynstar cam,	183
	vexid full grevously / withe thougthfull hete,	
I thought I was a fool to show myself;	thus thougth I / "a great fole I am,	
	this payment / a dayes thus to bete,	
	and in and out / labour[e] fast and swete,	187
	wonderinge / and hevynes to purchace,	
	sythen I stand ² out / of all favour and grace."	189

(28)

and yet if I kept in, I should be held worse.	And then thougth I / on that othar syde :	190
	"If that I not be sene / amonge the prees,	
	men deme wele ³ / that I myne heade hyde,	
	and am werse than I am / it is no lees."	
	O lorde, so my spirite / was rest[e]les,	194
	I sowght[e] reste / and I not it found,	
	but aye was trouble / redy at myn hond.	196

(29)

I can't stop folks' fancies;	I may not lett a man / to ymagine	197
	ferre above the mone / yf that hym lyst;	
	there-by the sowthe / he may not determyn[e],	
	but by the prefe / bene thing[e]s knowne ⁴ & wiste;	
	many a dome / is wrappyd in the myst;	201
	man by his dedes / and not by his lokes,	
	shall knowne be / as it is writen in bokes.	203

(30)

and some deem me mad still.	by taste of frewte / men may well wete and knowe	204
	what that it is / othar prefe is there none;	
	every man wott well that / as that I trowe,	
	right so they / that demen my witt is gone,	
	as yet ⁵ this day / there demythe many a one ⁶	208
	I am not well / may, as I by them goo,	
	taste and assay / yf it be so or noo.	210

¹ oones ² stone ³ wole ⁴ knowen ⁵ zit
⁶ many oon

(31)

Vpon a looke / is harde, men them to grownde 211 [leaf 6,
 what a man is / there-by the sothe is hid ;
 whither his wittes / seke bene or sounde, A man's wits
 by cowntynaunce / it is not wist ne kyd ; oughtn't to be
 thowghe¹ a man harde / have ones bene bityde, 215 judgd by his
 God shilde it shuld / on hym contynue alway ; looks.
 by comunynge / is the best assay. 217

(32)

I mene to comon² of thing[e]s mene, 218
 for I am but right lewde / dowl[e]les,
 and ygnoraunte / my cunnyng is full lene,
 yet homly reason / know I nevartheles ;
 not hope I founden be / so resonles 222 I'm not so witless
 as men demen / marie, christ forbede ! as folk think.
 I can no more / preve may the dede. 224

(33)

If a man ones / fall in dronkenesse, 225 A man who gets
 shall he contynewe / there-in evar no ? drunk once
 nay, thowghe a man doo / in drinkynge excesse
 so ferforthe / that not speake he ne can, ne goo,
 and his wittes / welny ben refte hym froo, 229
 and buryed in the Cuppe / he aftarward
 Comythe to hym selfe agayne / ellis were it hard ; 231 becomes sober ;

(34)

Right so / thowghe my³ witt / were a pilgrime, 232 and tho' I went
 and went[e] fer fro home / he cam agayne ; out of my mind,
 God me voydyd⁴ / of this⁵ grevous venyme God cured me.
 that had enfectyd / and wildyd my brayne.
 se how the curtese lech⁶ moste sovereyne, 236
 vnto the sycke / gerythe⁶ medisyne
 in nede / and hym relevythe of his peyne.⁷ 238

¹ Thou; ² commone ³ bat my ⁴ deuoided
⁵ the ⁶ zeueth ⁷ greuous pine

(35)

	Now let this passe / god wott, many a man	239
	semythe full wyse / by cowntenaunce and chere,	
	whiche, and he tastyd were what he can,	
Some men look	men myghten lickten hym / to a fooles pere ;	
fools,	and some man lokethe / in foltyshe maner[e]	243
	as to the outward dome / and Iudgement,	
and yet prove	that at the prese / descrete is and prudent.	245
wise.		

(36)

[leaf 6, back]	but algates, howe so be / my countynaunce,	246
Still, tho' I look	debate is now none / bytwyxt me and my wit,	
same,	all-thowghe there were / a dysseveraunce	
	as for a tyme / betwyxt me and it ;	
	the greater harme is myne, that never yet ¹	250
a wise man never	was I well lettered / prudent and discrete,	
stood on my feet ;	there never stode yet / wyse man on my fete.	252

(37)

	The sothe is this / suche conceit as I had,	253
and small wit as	and vnderstondynge / all were it but small,	
I had,	byfore that my wytt[e]s / wearen vnsad,	
	(thanked be owr lorde Ihesu christ of all !)	
it's less now.	suche have I now / but blowe is ny owar all	257
	the reverse / where-thorwghe is the mornynge	
	whiche cawsethe me / thus syghe ² in complaynyng.	

(38)

	sythen my good fortune / hathe changed his ³ chere,	
It's high time for	hye time is me / to crepe in-to my grave,	261
me to die ;	to lyve Ioy[e]les / what do I here ?	
	I in myne herte / can no gladnes have ;	
	I may but small sey / but yf men deme I rave,	264
	sythen othar thinge the[n] ⁴ woo / may I none grynpe,	
	vnto my sepulture / ame I nowe ripe.	266

¹ 3it ² sy3e ³ hir ⁴ þan

(39)

My well, adwe / farwell, my good fortune ! 267 my good hap
 out of yowr tables / me playned have ye ;
 sythen well ny eny wyght / for to comune
 with me lothe is / farwell prosperitie ! has gone.
 I am no lengar / of your lyverye ; 271
 ye have me put / out of yowr remembraunce ;¹
 adewe, my good adventure / and good chaunce ! 273

(40)

And as swithe after / thus by-thowght I me : 274
 yf that I in this wyse / me despayre, But still,
 It is purchase / of more advarsytye ;
 what nedethe it / my feble wit appeire ;
 sythe god hathe made / myne helthe home repayre 278 I am well again,
 blessed be he / and what men deme or² speke, thank God ;
 suffre it, thinke I / and me not on me wreke. 280

(41)

but some dele had I / reioysynge amonge, 281 [leaf 7]
 and gladnese³ also / in my spirite,
 that thowghe the people / toke them mis & wronge, and tho' folk
 me demynge / of my syck[e]nesse not quite, don't think me so,
 yet for they / compleyned / the hevy plite 285 they feel for me.
 that they had sene me in / with tendernesse
 of hertes cherte / my grefe was the lesse. 287

(42)

In them put I no defawlte but one ; 288
 that I was hole / they not ne deme kowld, They can't believe
 and day by day / they se me by them gon I'm well,
 In heate and colde / and neythar still nor lowde
 knew they me do suspectly / a dirke clowde 292
 they⁴ syght obscuryd / with-in⁵ and with-out[e],
 and for all that / were they⁶ in suche a dowl[e]. 294

¹ retenaunce ² and ³ a gladnesse ⁴ Hir
 ⁵ withynne ⁶ ay

(43)

	Axid have ¹ they / full ofte sythe, and freined	295
tho' my fellow-	of my fellow[e]s / of the prive seale,	
clerks of the	and preyed them to tell them / with ² hert vnsfeynyd,	
Privy-Seal have	how it stode wyth me / whither yll ³ or well.	
told them I am.	and they the sothe / told them every dell,	299
	but they helden / ther word[e]s not but les ;	
	they myghten as well / have holden ther pes.	301

(44)

This troubyl ye / hathe all to longe enduryd,	302
not have I wyst / how in my skynne to turne ;	
but now my selfe / to my selfe have ensured,	
for no suche wondrynge / after this to morne ;	
as longe as my lyfe / shall in me soierne,	306
of suche ymaginyng / I not ne reche ;	
lat them drem ⁴ as them ⁵ lyst / and speke & dreche.	

(45)

The other day a booke of consol- ation by	This othar day / a lamentacion	309
	of a wofull man / in a boke I see,	
	to whome word[e]s / of consolation	
Reason ⁶	Reason gave ⁷ / spekyng effectually ;	
	and well easyd / myn herte was ther-by ;	313
	for when I had a while / in the boke red,	
comforted me.	with the speche of Reason / was I well fed.	315

(46)

[leaf 7, back] Thomas ⁶ A mournful man complained of	The hevye man / wofull and angwysshows,	316
	compleyned in this wyse / and thus seyde he :	
	' my lyfe is vnto me / full enconberows ;	
	for whithar / or vn-to what place I flye,	
	my wyckednesses / ever followe ⁸ me,	320
	as men may se / the shadow a body swe,	
	and in no maner / I may them eschwe.	322

¹ Axide han ² wip ³ yuel ⁴ deem ⁵ hem
⁶ added later in margin ⁷ gaf ⁸ folowen

(47)

' vexation of spirite / and torment 323 vexation,
lake I right none / I have of them plente ;
wondarly byttar / is my taa[s]t¹ and sent ;
wo be the² tyme / of my natyvyte,
vnhappy man / that evar shuld it³ be ! 327
O deathe, thy strooke / a salve is of swetnes
to them that lyven / in suche wrechednes. 329

(48)

' Gretar plesaunce / were it me to dye, 330 and wisht for
by many folde / than for to lyve soo ;
sorows so many / in me multiplie,
that my lyfe is / to me a wery⁴ foo ;
comfortyd / may I not be of my woo ; 334
of my distrese / se none end I can,
no force how sone / I stinte to be a man.' 336

(49)

Than spake Reason / ' what menythe all this fare ? 337 Reason⁵
thowghe welthe be not frindly to the yet, urg'd the Mourner
out of thyn herte / voyde wo and care !'
' by what skyll / how / and by what rede and wit,' Thomas⁵
seyd[e] this wofull man / ' myght I done it ?' 341
' wrastle,' qwode Reason / ' a-gayne hevynesses Reason⁵
of the worlde / troubles, suffring and duresses. 343

(50)

' beholde how many a man / suffrethe desseas[e] 344 to look at other
as great as thow / and all a way gretar ; folks' greater ill
and thowghe it them pinche / sharply and sese,
yet paciently / they it suffar and bere :
thynke here-on / and the lesse it shall the dere : 348
suche sufferauce is / of mans gylt clensynge,
and them inablethe / to Ioye evarlastinge. 350

¹ laast² be be³ I⁴ verre⁵ later, in the margin.

(51)

[leaf 8] 'woo, hevynes / and tribulation, 351
 Trouble is com- comon are¹ to men² all / & profitable.
 mon to all, thowghe grevows be / mann[e]s temptacion,
 It aleythe man not / to them that ben sufferable,
 and to whom god[de]s stroke / is acceptable, 355
 purveyed Ioye is / for god woundythe tho
 that he ordeyned hathe / to blysse to goo / 357

(52)

and should be 'Gold purgyd is / thou seyst, in the furneis, 358
 borne for the fyner and clenner / it shall be ;
 of thy disease / the weyght and the peis
 bere lyghtly / for god, to prove the,
 scorgyd the hathe / with sharpe adversitie ; 362
 not gruche and sey / " why susteyn I this ?"
 for yf thou do / thou the takest amis ; 364

(53)

as a punishment 'but thus thou shuldest / thinke in thyn herte, 365
 for sin. and sey, " to the, lorde god / I have a-gylte
 so sore : I moot / for myn offensis smerte
 as I am worthy / O lorde, I am spilt,
 but thou to me / thy³ mercy graunt[e] wilt. 369
 I am full swre / thou maist it not denye ;
 lord, I me repent / and I the mercy crye." 371

(54)

I took Reason's lenger I thought[e] / red haue in this boke, 372
 teaching to heart, but so it shope / that I ne myght[e] nowght ;⁴
 he that it owght / agayne it to⁵ hym toke,
 me of his haste vnware / yet have I cawght
 sume of the doctryne / by reason tawght 376
 to the man / as a-bove have I sayde,
 where-of⁶ I hold[e] me / full well apayde. 378

¹ aren ² me ³ pi ; the St. ⁴ naujt ⁵ to to, Dm.

⁶ Welþcrof.

(55)

for evar sythen / set haue I the lesse	379	and have since put up with folke' talk of my illness.
by the peoples / ymagination,		
talkynge this and that / of my sycknesse,		
whiche came of god[de]s visytacion ;		
myght I have be found / in probation,	383	
not grutchynge / but have take it in soffraunce,		
holsome and wyse / had be my governaunce.	385	

(56)

farwell my sorow / I caste it to the cok.	386	[leaf 8, back]
with pacience / I hens-forthe thinke vnpike		I'll unplug the lock of my woes,
of suche thoughtfull disesease and woo / the lok,		
and let them out / that have me made to sike ;		let them out,
here-aftar owr lorde god / may, yf hym lyke,	390	
make all myne olde affection resorte ;		
and in hope of that / woll I me comforte.	392	

(57)

Thrwghe ¹ gods iust dome / and his iudgement,	393	
and for my best[e] / now I take and deme,		and take my punishment for the best.
gave ² that good lorde / me my punishment :		
in welthe I toke of hym / none hede or yeme,		
hym for to please / and hym honoure and queme,	397	
and he me gave a bone / on for to know[e],		God gave me a bone to gnaw.
me to correcte / and of hym to have awe.	399	

(58)

he gave me wit / and he toke it away	400	
when that he se ³ / that I it mys dyspent[c],		
and gave agayne / when it was to his pay,		
he grauntyd me / my giltes to repent[c],		
and hens-forwarde / to set myne entent[e],	404	I'll now try to please God and to amend.
vnto his deitie / to do plesaunce,		
and to amend / my synfull governaunce.	406	

¹ Thoru3² 3af³ sy

(59)

I thank Him	lawde and honore / and thanke vnto the be,	407
	lorde god / that salve art / to all hevynes !	
	thanke of my welthe / and myne adversyte,	
	thanke of myne elde / and of my sek[e]nese ;	
	and thanke be / to thyne Infinite goodnesse	411
and appeal to His mercy.	for thy gyftes and benefices all[e],	
	and vnto thy mercye and grace I call[e].	413

XXI.

[Thomas Hocceve (in Stowe's hand).]

*Dialogue with a
Friend.*[*Dialogus cum Amico.*] (later, in pencil)

(1)

[leaf 9] A friend knocks at my door.	A nd, endyd my 'complaynt' / in this manere,	1
	one knocked / at my chambre dore sore,	
	and cryed a-lowde / 'howe, hocceve! arte thou here?	

open thy dore / me thinkethe [it] full yore	
sythen I the se / what, man, for god[de]s ore	5
come out / for this quartar I not the sy,	
by owght I wot' / and out to hym cam I.	7

(2)

	This man was my good frynde / of farn a-gon,	8
	that I speke of / and thus ¹ he to me seyde :	
	'Thomas / as thou me lovest, tell a-non ²	
	what dydist thou / when I knocked and leyde	
	so fast upon thy dore' / And I obeyde	12
I ask him in,	vnto his will / "come in," quod I, "and se."	
	and so he dyd / he streyght went in with me.	14

(3)

	To my good frind / not thougth I to make it queinte, ³	
	ne my labowre / from hym to hyde or leyne ;	16
and read my 'Complaint' to him.	and right anon / I redd hym my 'complaynt' ;	
	and that done / thus he seyde, 'sen we twayne	
	bene here / and no mo folke / for god[de]s payne,	19

¹ pus.² anoon³ quette

Thomas, soffar me speke / and be not wrothe,
for the to offend[e] / were me full lothe. 21

(4)

'That I shall saye / shall be of good entent[e]: 22

hast thou made this complaynte / forthe to goo
amonge the people' / "ye, friend;" so I ment[e];

what ells¹ / 'Nay, Thomas, ware, do not soo!

yf thou be wyse / of that mattar hoo, 26

reherse thou it not / ne it a-wake;

kepe all that cloos / for thyn honours sake. 28

My friend advises
me not to make
my 'Complaint'
public,

(5)

'how it stode with the / leyde is all a-slepe; 29

men haue forget it / it is owt of mynd;

that thou towche there-of / I not ne kepe;

let be; that rede I / for I can not finde

O man to speake of it / in as good a kynde 33

as thou hast stonde / amonge men or this day,

stondyst thou nowe' / "A, nay," quod I, "nay, nay! I refuse,

as folk have for-
gotten my lunacy.

(6)

"Thowghe I be lewde / I not so fere-forthe dote; 36

[leaf 9, back]

I wott what men haue seyde / and seyne of me;

ther word[e]s have I not / as yet forgote;

but greate marvayle have I / of yow, that ye

no bet of my 'compleynte' / avysed be, 40

sythen, mafey / I not redd it vnto yow

so longe a-gone / for it was but right now. 42

(7)

"If ye toke hede / it makethe mention 43

that men of me speke / in myne audience

full hevely / of your entencion

I thanke you / for of benevolence,

wott I full well / procedith yowr sentence; 47

but certis, good frinde / that thinge that I here,

can I witnesse / and vnto it refere. 49

as men talk of my
illness in my
hearing,

¹ ellis

(8)

" And where as that ye / me counseile and rede, 50
 that for myne honore / showlde I by no weye
 any thinge mynge / or towche of my wildhede,
 I vnto that / annswere thus and saye :
 and I'm not of god[de]s stroke / how so it peyse or waye, 54
 ashamed of God's punishment. owght no man to thinke / reprefe or shame ;
 his chastisyng / hurtithe no mans name. 56

(9)

" An othar thinge / ther mevithe¹ me also ; 57
 sythen my syck[e]nesse / sprad was so wyde
 that men knew well / how it stode with me tho,
 I also want men so would I now / vpon that othar syde
 to know that wist were / how our lord Ihesu, which is gyde 61
 me. Jesus has cured to all relefe / and may all hertes cure,
 relevyd hathe me / synfull creature. 63

(10)

" had I be for an homysede yknowe, 64
 or an extorcioner / or a robbowr,
 I'm not a thief or or for a coin² clypper / as wyde y-blowe
 a coin-clipper, or as was my syckenese / or a werriowr
 a-gayne the faythe / or a falce mayntaynowr 68
 of cawsys / thowghe I had a-mendyd me,
 them to have mynged / [would] have been nicete ; 70

(11)

[leaf 10] " And why / for tho proceden of frailtie 71
 of man hym selfe / he brewythe all[e] tho ;
 for sythen god to man / gyven³ hathe libertie,
 a wilful evil-doe, which chese may / for to do well or no,
 yf he myse-chese / he is his owne foo ; 75
 and to reherse his gilt / whiche hym accusethe,
 honor saythe nay / there he scilence excusithe. 77

¹ meneþ² coin S. comon Dm.³ ȝoue

(12)

- "but this is / all a-nothar case sothelye : 78
 this was the stroke of god / he gave me this ;
 and sythe he hathe / withe-drawe it curteisly,
 am I not holden [tell] it owt / O yes ;
 but yf god had this thanke / it wer amyse.¹ 82
 In feythe, frinde / [I thenke] make an open² shryfte,
 and hyd[e] not / what I had of his gyfte. 84

but only a sufferer
from the stroke of
God.

(13)

- "If that a leche / curyd had me so,— 85
 as they lacken all / that science and myght,—
 a name he schulde / have had for evar mo,
 what cure he had done / to so seke a wight.
 and yet my purs / he wolde have made full lyght ; 89
 but curteys Ihesu / of his grace pacient,
 axith not / but of gilte amendement. 91

If a doctor had
cured me,

he'd have been
highly praised.

(14)

- "The benefice of god / not hyd be shuld[e] : 92
 sythen of myne hele / he gave me triacle,
 It to confese / and thanke hym, am³ I hold[e],
 for he in me hathe shewyd his myracle ;
 his vysytacion is a spectacle 96
 in whiche that I / beholde may and se,
 bet then I dyd / how great a lorde is he. 98

Surely then I
shouldn't hide
God's benefits to
me.

(15)

- "but, frind, amonge the vises that right now 99
 rehersed I, one of them, dare I saye,
 hathe hurt me sore / and I wot well ynow
 so hathe it mo / which is feble⁴ moneye : light coin.
 many a man this day / but they gold wey[e], 103
 of men / not wole it take ne receyve,
 and yf it lake his peis / they woll⁵ it weive. 105

¹ MS. anyse ² make I thenke an open ³ as Dm.

⁴ feole St. ⁵ wole

(8)

“ And where as that ye / me counseile and rede, 50
 that for myne honore / showlde I by no weye
 any thinge mynge / or towche of my wildhede,
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 I also want men to know that Jesus has cured me. so would I now / vpon that othar syde
 wist were / how our lord Ihesu, which is gyde 61
 to all relefe / and may all hertes cure,
 relevyd hathe me / synfull creature. 63

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¹ menep² coin S. comon Dm.³ zoue

(12)

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 hathe hurt me sore / and I wot well ynow
 so hathe it mo / which is feble⁴ moneye :
 many a man this day / but they gold wey[e], 103
 of men / not wole it take ne receyve,
 and yf it lake his peis / they woll⁵ it weive. 105

light coin.

¹ MS. anyse ² make I thenke an open ³ as Dm.

⁴ feble St. ⁵ wole

(16)

[leaf 10, back]	"how may it holde his peise / when it is waishe	106
	so that it lackethe ¹ / somewhat in thiknese ?	
	the falce people / no thinge them abashe	
Folk clip coin,	to clyp it eke / in ² brede and in rowndnese,	
	in that ³ it shulde be / alweye the lease :	110
and hurt the poor.	the pore man / amonge all othar is	
	full sore anoyed / and grevyd in this.	112

(17)

	"If it be golde and hole / that men hym profre	113
	for his labowre / or his chaffar lent,	
	take it yf him lyst / and put it in his coffre,	
	for wasshinge or clyppyng / hold hym content	
	or leve / he got none othar payment ;	117
	it semythe but small / othar is there ;	
	trewthe is absent / but falshed is not fer.	119

(18)

The poor are injured by coins	"how shall the pore do / yf in his holde	120
	no more money / he ne have at all,	
	par cas / but a noble / or halfpeny of golde,	
thind & clipt.	and it so thin is / and so narowe and smale,	
	that men the eschaunge eschewen ovar all ?	124
	not will it goo / but moche ⁴ he there-one lese ;	
	he mote do so / he may none other chese.	126

(19)

I have been.	"I myselfe in this case / bene have, or this,	127
	wherefore I know it / a grete dell ⁵ the bett.	
	he that in falsyng / coyne / gilty is,	
Sweaters of coin should be hung.	hathe great wronge / that he nere ⁶ on a ⁷ gebet ;	
	It is pitie / that he there-from is let,	131
	sythen he there-to hathe / so great tittle and right :	
	Reigne Iustice / and preve on them thy myght !	133

¹ lacke ² it eke it in ³ in than ; is that St.

⁴ miche ⁵ dele ⁶ nere S. ⁷ þe.

(20)

"when I this wrote / many me dyd amyse ; 134
 they weyed gold / vnhad auctoritie ;
 no statute [made] was ¹ then / as [pat] now ² is ;
 but sythen golde to wey / chargid now ben we,
 Reason axith / that it obeyed be ; 138
 now tyme it is / unto weight[e]s vs draw[e],
 sythen that the parlyament / hathe made it a lawe. 140

Now an Act of
Parliament makes
weighing of coine
needful.

(21)

"yet othar shrewes / done a worse gyn ; 141
 and tho bene they / that the coyne countarfete,
 and they that with gold / coper, cloth and tyn,
 to make all seme gold / they swinke and swete
 In hall[e] for to purchace / them a sete : 145
 If thethar lede them / theyr ³ falce covetise,
 that purchas made was / in a foltyshe wyse. 147

[leaf 11]

Counterfeiters of
coin make them-
selves a seat in
Hell.

(22)

"what cawsethe, trowe ⁴ ye / all this mischance? 148
 what comforte gyven ⁵ is / to this vntwrthe?
 In feythe, men seyne / it is the mayntynance
 of great[e] folke / whiche is great ⁶ harme & ruthe.
 god graunt here-aftar / that ther be no slowthe,⁷ 152
 of this treason / punishement to do,
 rygth such as that is / partinent ther-to. 154

The evil is done
by the mainten-
ance of great folk,

(23)

"they that consenten / to do that falshede, 155
 as well as the werkars / withe peyne egall
 punished ⁸ owght to be / as that I rede.
 now, manyteynors / be ware now of a fall!
 I speke of no parson / in especiall ⁹ ; 159
 In contries dyvers / is there many one
 of yow / and hathe bene ¹⁰ / many a day a-gon. 161

who ought to be
punisht.

¹ made was ; was Dm. ² pat nowe ; now St. ³ her
⁴ trowen ⁵ jouen ⁶ a great ⁷ sloupe ; showpe Dm.
⁸ punischid ⁹ special ¹⁰ be

(24)

False-coining
harms the king

" Alas / that to owr Kyng[e]s preiudice, 162
and harme to all / his lige people trew[e],
Continue shall / this fowle and cursed vice
of falsynge of coyne / not begone of new[e], 165
whiche / and it forthe goo / many one shall it rew[e].
God and our Kynge / remedye all this grefe,
and the people, for to the people / it is a foule mischeffe. 168

(25)

who call for ven-
geance on the
false moneyers.

" by comon harme / is not small to set[te]; 169
that venom / ovar wyde and brod[e] spredethe :
grete merit were it / suche thinge stope and let[te],
as that the comon / in-to myschefe ledythe. 172
the voyce of the people / vengauce on yow gredithe,
ye cursed men / ye false moneyours,
and on yowre outeris / and yowr maynteynours! 175

(26)

[leaf 11, back]
But I fear these
cursed fellows
won't be punisht.

" O, this I drede alweye / this heviethe me 176
many a sythe / that punishment
none fall[e] shall / on this cursed meynye ;
how trewe so be / ther enditement,¹
owr lyge lorde / shall be so Innocent, 180
that vnto hym / shall hyd be y^e notice ;
vnwasshen gold / shall wasshe² a-way that vice. 182

(27)

Tho' the King 'll
be told who the
false coiners are,

they'll trick him,
and escape.

" Enformed shalbe / his hie excellence 183
by menes / whom that the lady moneye
hath rowned with / and shewyd evidence
In plate / that all wronge is that men seye
of that false folke / my sowle dare I laye, 187
tho mens³ shullen have / no defectyve plate ;
here receyte shall be / good and fyne algate. 189

¹ enditement ; entendement St. ² waisshe ; vanyshe St.

³ meenes

(28)

"Nowe in good faythe / I drede there shall be 190
 suche multitude / of that falce secte
 with-in this two yere / or ellis thre,
 but yf this stynkyng earrow / be correcte, If this evil isn't
corrected.
 that so myche ¹ of this land / shall be infecte 194
 there-with, that trewth shall a-downe be throw[e], truth will be
overthrown.
 and that cursed falshed / it ² overgrow[e]. 196

(29)

"lo, frinde / nowe haue I myne entent vnreke . 197
 of my longe tale / displese yow nowght."
 'nay, Thomas, nay / but late me to the speke :
 when thy compleynt / was to the end ybrowght, My friend asks
what else I mean
to write.
 cam it owght in thy purpos / and thy thougth, 201
 owght all[e]s ther-with / to have made than that?
 "ye, certayne, frind" / 'O nowe, good Thomas, what?'

(30)

"frinde, that I shall you tell / as blyve, y-wys : 204 [leaf 12]
 in latyn haue I sene / a small tretis[e], I've seen a Latin
treatise 'Learn to
die.'
 whiche 'lerne for to dye' / I-callyd is :
 a bettar restreynte / know I none fro vice : 207
 for whan that deathe / shall men ³ from hence ⁴ trice,
 but he that lesson / lerned have or than,
 war that / for ⁵ deathe comethe, wot ther no wyght whan.

(31)

"And that haue I purposed to translate, 211 and I mean to
english it.
 If god his grace / lyst ther-to me lene,
 sythen he of helthe / hathe openyd me the gate ;
 for where my sowle is / of vertwe all lene,
 and thrwghe my bodyes gilt / fowle ⁶ & vnclene, 215
 to clens it / some-what by translation
 of it, shall be / myne occupation. 217

¹ moche ² it ; is St. ³ man ⁴ hennes
⁵ for ; and St. ⁶ & fowle St.

(32)

This treatise 'll
make men take
account of their
sins,

"for I not only / but, as that I hope, 218
many an othar wight / eke there-by shall
his consyence / [ful] tenderly grope,
and withe hym selfe acompte, & reken of all 221
that he hathe in his ¹ lyfe / wrowght, great & ² small,
while he tyme hathe / & freshe wit and vigowr,
and not abyde / vnto his dethes howr. 224

(33)

and not delay till
they are near
death.

"man may in this tretis / here-aftarward, 225
yf that hym lyke / rede and beholde,
consyder and se well / that it is full hard
delay accompts / tyll lyfe begyne to colde ;
short tyme is then / of his offencis olde 229
to make a iust / and trew[e] rekenynge ;
sharpnes of peyne / is there-to great hindringe. 231

(34)

[leaf 12, back]

I do this transla-
tion at the urging
of a devout man,

"Not bath ³ me stiryd / my devocion 232
to do this labour / ye shullan vnderstond[e],
but at the exitynge / and monicion
of a devout man / take I here on hond[e]
this labowr / and as I cane,⁴ wole I fond[e] 236
his reade, thwrghe gods grace, to parforme,
thowghe I be bare / of intellecte and forme. 238

(35)

and when it's
finisht, I shall
write no more.

"And whan that endyd is / I nevar thinke, 239
more in englyshe aftar / be occupied ;
I may not labowr / as I dyd, and swinke ;
my lust is not there-to / so well applied
as it hathe bene / it is ny mortyfyed ; 243
wherefore I cesse thinke / be this done,
the night approchethe / it is fer past none. 245

¹ this ² or ³ corr. from 'have I,' in St.

⁴ came

(36)

"Of age am I fifty winter and thre ; 246 I am 53;
Ripenesse of dethe / fast vpon me hastethe ;¹
my lymes sumdell / now vnweldy be ;
all my syght apperithe faste, and wastithe,
and my conceyte / a dayes now / not tastethe 250 my sight is im-
as it hath done / in yeres precedent ; paired, and my
now all a-nother is my sentement.² [*Stowe ends.*] 252 mind too.

(37) [*Hoccleve's parchment begins.*]

" More am I heuy now vp-on a day,	253	[leaf 18]
Than I sum tyme was in dayes fyue ;		
Thynge þat or this me thoghþe game & play,		
Is earnest now / ³ the hony fro the hyue		
Of my spirit withdrawith wondir blyue ;	257	The honey is gone from the hive of my spirit.
Whan al is doon / al this worlde's swetnesse		
At ende torneth in-to bittirnesse. ⁴	259	

(38)

“The fool, thurgh loue of this lyf present, ¶ *falliter insipiens*
 Deceyued is / but the wys man woot weel *vite presentis amore*
 How ful this world of sorwe is, and torment ; *&c.* The world is full
of sorrow.
 Wherefore in it / he trustith nat a deel :
 Thogh a man this day / sitte hye on the wheel, 264
 To morwe he may be tryced from his sete ;
 This hath be seen often / among the grete. 266

(39)

“How fair thyng / or how precious it be	267	Fair things are
pat in the world is / it is lyk a flour,		like flowers,
To whom / nature yeuen hath beautee		
Of fressh heewe / and of ful pleasant colour ;		
With soote smellynge also, and odour ;	271	
But as soone as it is bicomen drye,		and soon lose
ffarwel colour / and the smel gynneth ⁵ dye.	273	their colour and scent.

¹ now hastip

3 **sentement**

^{now missing} ^{sentences}
' A later hand († Stowe's) has written 'then' over the line as if it were left out.

⁴ 'tornithe in to bittyernisse, is repeated below in a later hand.

^b A later hand writes 'be'gynneth 'to.' At foot: 'hongrie men seem diyures,' &c.

(40)

[leaf 13, back]
Majesty passes
like a tree's
shadow.

" Rial might and eerthely magestee, 274
Welthe of the world / and longe & faire dayes,
Passen / as dooth the shadwe of a tree ;
Whan deeth is come / ther be no delayes ;
The worldes trust is brotil¹ at assayes ; 278
The wyse men / wel knowen this is sooth,
They knowen / what deceit to man it dooth. 280

(41)

Property is lent
us for a time ;

" Lond / rente / cattel / gold / honour / richesse, 281
þat for a tyme lent been to been ouris,
fforgo we shole / sonner than we gesse.
Paleses / Maners / Castels grete & touris
Shal vs bireft be / by deeth þat ful sour is ; 285
Shee is the rogh besom / which shal vs aH
Sweepe out of this world / whan god list it faH. 287

but Death soon
deprives us of it.

(42)

Isn't it wise to
provide against
Death ?

" And syn þat shee shal of vs make an ende, 288
Holsum is, hir' haue ofte in remembrance,
Or shee hir messenger seeknesse vs sende.
¶ Now, my freend / so good yeue yow good chaunce,
Is it nat good to make a puruance 292
Ageyn the comynge of þat messageer,
That we may stande in conscience cleer ?" 294

(43)

[leaf 14]
' Yee, Thomas
Hocceve ;
but your brain is
weak.

¶ ' yis, Thomas, yis / thow hast a good entente,² 295
But thy werk / hard is to parfourme, I dreede ;
Thy brayn, par cas / ther-to nat wole assente,
And wel thow woost / it moot assente neede
Or thow aboute brynge swich a deede : 299
Now in good feith / I rede as for the beste,
þat purpos caste out of thy myndes cheste. 301

¹ *bretil*, first.

² Iohan Medwell, *Master* my lord Chamberlain, . . per prise
[at top]. Also, later, 'W. Browne.' At foot, 'Thomas Carterys.'

(44)

- 'Thy bisy studie aboute swich mateere 302 'Your writing
Hath causid thee / to stirte in-to the plyt has made you
That thou were in / as fer as I can heere ; crackt again.
And thogh thou deeme / thou be there-of qwyte /
Abyde / and thy purpos putte in respyt 306 'Stop work till
Til þat right wel stablisshid be thy brayn ; your brain's
And ther-to thanne / I wole assente fayn. 308 right.'

(45)

- 'Thogh a strong fyr / þat was in an herth late, 309
Withdrawen be / and swept away ful cleene /
yit aftirward / bothe the herth and plate
Been of the fyr warm / thogh no fyr be seene
There as þat it was / and right so I meene : 313
Al-thogh past be the grete of thy seeknesse /
yit lurke in thee may sum of hir warmnesse.' 315

(46)

- ¶ "O, what is yow, freend / benedicitee? 316 [leaf 14, back]
Right now, whan I yow redde my 'conpleynte,' Hoccleve re-
Made it nat mynde / it standith wel with me? proaches his
Myn herte with your speeche gynneth feynte. friend:
Shuld we be now / al neewe to aqweynte, 320 I told you I was
þat han so wel aqweynted be ful yore? well.
What / han yee now lerned a neewe lore? 322

(47)

- "Han yee lerned / your freend for to mis-truste 323 Why do you
And to his wordes / yeue no credence? mistrust me?
If your frendshipe cancre so and ruste,
Sore wole it trouble myn innocence,
þat ay yow holden haue in existence 327
A verray freend / certes, sore am I greeued,
That yee nat leue / how god me hath releued.¹ 329

¹ Later, in margin: 'Ryght worshipsfull Fa.' At foot,
'Hereof se . . . Thomas C.'

(48)

" Who so nat leueth / what þat a man seith, 330
 Is signe þat he trustith him but lyte.
 A verray freend yeueth credence & feith
 Vn-to his freend / what so he speke & wryte.
 ffrendshipes lawe / nat worth wer' a myte, 334
 If þat vntrust / vn-to it wer' annexid ;
 Vntrust hath many a wight ful sore vexid. 336

A true friend
trusts his friend.

(49)

[leaf 15] " I with my seluen made foreward, 337
 Whan with the knotte of frendshipe I me knytte
 Vn-to yow, þat I neuere aftirward
 Fro þat hy bond departe wolde, or flitte ;
 Which keepe I wole ay / o, your wordes sitte 341
 Ny to myn herte / and thogh yee me nat loue,
 My loue fro yow / shal ther no wight shoue. 343

I vrowd to sticke
to you.

(50)

Tully says that
 Friendship lasts
 for ever. " Tullius seith / þat frendshipe verray 344
 Endurith euere / how-so men it assaiñ ;
 ffrendshipe is noon / to loue wel this day,
 Or yeeres outhir / and aftirward faiñ.
 A freend to freend / his payne & his trauaiñ 348
 Dooth ay / frendshipe to keepe & conserue
 Til dethes strook' þat bond a-sondir kerue. 350

(51)

Solomon says so
 too. " To this matir' accordith Salomon— 351
 yee knowe it bet than I by many fold :
 Ones freend / and holde euere ther vp-on.
 In your frendshipe wer' a slipir hold,
 If it abate wolde and wexe cold, 355
 þat vn-to now hath been bothe hoot & warm ;
 To yow wer' it repreef / and to me harm. 357

(52)

- " If þat me list in this mateere dwell,¹ 358 [leaf 15, back]
 And it along / for to drawe and dilate,
 Auctoritees an heep, kowde I yow tell
 Of frendshipe / but stynte I moot algate, But I'll stop
 Or elles wole it be ful longe & late 362 talking,
 Or I haue endid my purposid werk',
 for feeble is my conceit, & dul & derk'. 364

(53)

- " But as þat I seide eer / and sooth it is, 365
 My sclendre wit feele I as sad and stable
 As euere it was at any tyme or this : tho' my mind is
 Thankid be our lord Ihesu merciable!" as firm as ever it
 '¶ Yit, Thomas, herkne a word, and be souffrable, 369 *Hoccleve's friend.*
 And take nat my speeche in displeasance ; *Thomas,*
 In me shalt thou fynde no variance. 371 you shall find no
 changing in me.

(54)

- ' I am thy freend / as þat I haue ay been, 372 I am your friend.
 And euere wole / doute it nat al,
 But truste wel, it is but seelden seen
 þat any wight / þat caght hath swich a fal
 As thy seeknesse was / þat aftir shal 376
 Be of swich disposicioon and might
 As he was erst / and so seith euery wight. 378

(55)

- ' Of studie was engendred thy seeknesse,² 379 [leaf 16]
 And þat was hard / woldest [thow] now agayn
 Entre into þat laborious bisynesse,
 Syn it thy mynde and eek thy wit had slayn ?
 Thy conceit is nat worth a payndemayn : 383
 Let be / let be / bisye thee so no more,
 Lest thee repente / and reewe it ouersore. 385
 Your illness came
 from overstudy.
 Don't be silly
 enough to do it
 again.

¹ Later, in margin : 'Is the same ene (?) . . . he me life in.'

² In a later hand at top : 'per me peter hardy of halyfax';
 then, rubd out, 'ows this bok.'

(56)

	' My reed proceedith nat of froward wil,	386
	But it is seid of verray freendly-hede	
	ffor if so-causid seeknesse on me fil	
	As dide on the: right euene as I thee rede,	
	So wolde I do my self / it is no drede;	390
Solomon bids you do as you're advised.	And Salomon bit / after conseil do;	
	And good is it / conforme thee ther-to.	392

(57)

	' He þat hath ones in swich plyt y-fatt,	393
	But he wol rule him / may in slippen eft:	
	This rede I thee / for aȝt þat may befatt,	
As God has cured your sickness, avoid its cause.	Syn þat seeknesse god hath thee byrest,	
	The cause eschue / for it is good left,	397
	Namely, thyng of thoghtful studie kaght,	
	Perillous is / as þat hath me been taght.	399

(58)

[leaf 16, back]	¶ ' Right as a thief þat hath eschapid ones ¹	400
	The roop / no dreede hath eft his art to vse,	
	Til þat the trees him weye vp, body and bones,	
	So looth is him / his sory craft refuse /	
You love to pore on your books.	Sa farest thow / ioie hastow for to muse	404
	Vp-on thy book / and ther-in stare & poure,	
	Til þat it thy wit / consume and deuoure.	406

(59)

	' I can no more / the latter' errour'	407
	Wers is, rede I / than þat þat was befor;	
	The smert of studie / oȝte be mirour'	
Give up your studies.	To thee / let yit thy studie be forborn.	
	Haue of my wordes / no desdeyn or scorn;	411
	ffor þat I seye / of freendly tendernesse	
	I seye it al / as wisly god me blesse.	413

¹ Written up the side in a later hand:
Know er thow kynt [knyt, p. 152], and then thow mayst alake;
If thou knynt er thow know, then hytt ys to late. (See p. 152.)

(60)

- 'If thee nat list vp-on thy self to reewe, 414 If you won't take
Thomas, who shal reewe vpon thee, I preye? pity on yourself,
Now do foorth, let see / and thyn harm reneewe; who will?
And heuyer' / shal it peise and weye
Than it dide eer / ther-to my lyf I leye, 418
Which thee wolde ouer mochil harme & greeue.'
"freend, as to þat / answer' I shal by leene.¹ 420 *Hoccleve answers.*

(61)

- "Where-as þat yee deemen of me, and trowe 421 [leaf 17]
That y of studie my diseis took',— My insanity
Which conceit eek' / among the peple is sowe /—
Trustith right wel / þat neuere studie in book' did not come from
Was cause / why my mynde me forsook' 425 book-study,
But it² was causid of my long seeknesse, but from my long
And othir wyse nat / in soothfastnesse. 427 illness.

(62)

- "And for-thy neuere aftir this / preye y yow, 428
Deemeth no more so / ne nat it mynge.
That men kneew I had seeknesse / is ynow, I don't care that
Thogh they make of the cause no serchyng; folk should know
Ther cometh but smal fruyt of swich deemyng. 432 about it.
To yow told haue I treewely the cause;
Now let vs stynten heer' / & make a pause. 434 Let's drop it.

(63)

- "In this keepe I no replicacioun; 435
It is nat worth / the labour is in veyn;
Shal no stiringe or excitacioun
Lette me of this labour, in certeyn.
Trustith wel this pourpos is nat sodeyn; 439 As to my intended
Vp-on my wittes stithie hath it be bete work,
Many a day / of this no lenger trete.³ 441 I've thought
about it long,

¹ Later scribbles at foot: 'William . . thi . . nunny ny,' &c.

² MS. is.

³ Later, at foot: 'Lord, Haue merce upon all cresten solles . . John taler . . sone frome the beg', &c.

(64)

[leaf 17, back]	"I haue a tyme resonable abide	442
	Or that I thoghte in this laboure me ;	
	And al to preeue my self, I so dide :	
	A man in his conceit / may serchee & see	
for 5 years.	In .v°. yeer / what he do may, pardee,	446
	And aftir þat take vp-on him, and do	
	Or leue / reson accordith heer-to."	448

(65)

<i>Hoccleve's Friend.</i>	¶ 'O Thomas, holdist thou it a prudence,	449
Thomas, you're not wise to follow your own judgment instead of mine.	Reed, weyue, and wirke aftir thyn owne wit ?	
	Seide y nat eer / þat Salomons sentence	
	To do by reed / and by Conseil, men bit ;	
	And thou desdeynest / for to folwen it.	453
	What art thou now / presumptuous become,	
	And list nat of thy mis / been vndirnome !'	455

(66)

<i>Hoccleve.</i>	¶ "Nay, freend / nat so / yee woot well, elles-where	
Vnus sit tibi consiliarius inter mille	Salomon bit / 'oon be thy Conseillour	457
	Among a .Ml.' and if þat yee were	
	As constant as yee han been or this hour,	
My friend, I feel you are wrong.	By yow wolde I be red / but swich errour	460
	In your conceit I feele now, sanz faille,	
	That in this cas yee can nat wel consail. ¹	462

(67)

[leaf 18]	"ffor god woot / a blynd Counseillour is he	463
	Which þat conseilte shal in a mateere,	
	If of a soothe / him list nat lerned be ;	
	And euene swich oon fynde I now nowheere. ²	
I've told you plainly how I stand.	I pleynty told yow haue, the maneere	467
	How þat it with me standen hath / and stant ;	
	But of your trust to me ward, be ye scant.	469

¹ In the begynnyng god be my speade wythe grace & vertu [later, at bottom].

² MS. now heere.

(68)

- "Han yee agh't herd of me in *communynge*, 470
 Wherthurgh yee ogh'ten deeme of me amis?
 Hauē I nat seid reson / to your thynkygne?"
 ¶ 'ffor soothe, Thomas / to my conceit / yis;
 But euere I am agast, & dreede this, 474
 Thy wit is nat so mighty to susteene
 That labour / as thow thy self woldest weene.' 476

Haven't I spoken
 reason?
Hocceleue's friend.

Yes; but your
 mind won't bear
 this new work.

(69)

- "ffreend, as to þat, he lyueth nat þat can 477
 Knowe / how it standith with an othir wight,
 So wel as him self / al-thogh many a man
 Take on him more / than lyth in his might
 To knowe / þat man is nat ruled right 481
 þat so presumeth in his iugement:
 Before the doom / good wer' auisament." 483

Hocceleue.
 Who can judge
 a man's state as
 well as he him-
 self?

(70)

- ¶ 'Now, Thomas / by the feith I to god owe, 484
 Had I nat taastid thee / as þat I now
 Doon haue / it had been hard, maad me to trowe
 The good plyt / which I feele wel þat thow
 Art in / I woot wel thow art wel ynow, 488
 What-so men of thee ymagyne or clappe,
 Now haue I god, me thynkith, by the lappe. 490

Hocceleue's friend.
 [leaf 18, back]
 Well, Thomas,
 I've tested you,
 and believe you
 are fit.

(71)

- 'But al so hertly / as I can or may, 491
 Syn þat thow wilt to þat labour thee dresse,
 I preye thee / in al maneere way
 Thy wittes to conserue / in hir fresshnesse;
 Whan thow ther-to goost / take of hem the lesse; 495
 To muse longe / in an hard mateere,
 The wit of man abieth it ful deere.' 497

And, as you will,
 write,

keep your wits
 fresh,

and don't work at
 too hard a subject.

(72)

<i>Hocceleve.</i>	¶ "ffrend, I nat medle of matires grete ;	498
My brains won't stretch to that.	Ther-to nat strecche may myn intellect ;	
	I neuere yit was brent with studies hete ;	
	Let no man holde me ther-in suspect :	
If I can't do my work easily, I shall shut my book.	If I lightly / nat cacche may theeffect	502
	Of thyng' in which / laboure I me purpose,	
	A dieu my studie / anoon my book' I close.	504

(73)

[leaf 19] I shall write by starts, as the fancy takes me, and stop when it slacke.	" By stirtes / whan þat a fressh lust me takith,	505
	Wole I me bisye now and now a lyte ;	
	But whan þat my lust dullith and asslakith,	
	I stynte wole / and no lenger' wryte ;	
	And pardee, freend / þat may nat hyndre a myte,	509
	As þat it seemeth to my symple ays ;	
	Ingeth your self' / yee been prudent and wys."	511

(74)

<i>Hocceleve's friend.</i>	¶ ' Sikir, Thomas / if thow do in swich wyse	512
Then I'm content.	As þat thow seist / I am ful wel content	
	þat thow vp-on thee take þat emprise	
	Which þat thow has purposed and y-ment ;	
	Vn-to þat ende / yeue y myn assent,	516
Set to work, in Christ's name.	Go now ther-to / in Ihesu Crystes name ;	
	And as thow haast me seid / do thou þat same.	518

(75)

	' I am seur þat thy disposicioun	519
	Is swich / þat thow maist more take on hoonde	
	Than I first wende in myn oppinioun,	
	By many fold / thankid be goddes soonde !	
	Do foorth in goddes name / & nat ne woonde	523
Compose and write what you like.	To make and wryte / what thyng þat thee list :	
	þat I nat eer kneew / now is to me wist.	525

¹ Later scribble at top : 'Thomas . . Tomas Gairdynnayr' (!).

(76)

- ' And of o thyng / now wel I me remembre, 526 [leaf 19, back]
 Why thow purposist in this book trauaith :
 I trowe þat in the monthe of Septembre
 Now last, or nat fer from / it is no faill,—
 No force of the time¹ / it shal nat auaiht 530
 To my mateer' / ne it hyndre or lette,—
 Thow seidist / of a book' thow wer' in dette 532

But didn't you say
that you ow'd a
book

(77)

- ' Vn-to my lord / þat now is lieutenant, 533
 My lord of Gloucestre / is it nat so ?
 ¶ " Yis soothly, freend / and as by couenant
 He sholde han had it many a day ago ;
 But seeknesse and vnlust / and othir mo 537
 Han be the causes of impediment."
 ¶ ' Thomas / than this book' haast thow to him ment ?'

Hocceve.
Yes, and he ought
to have had it
long ago.

(78)

- ¶ " Yee sikir, freend, ful treewe is your deemyng ; 540
 ffor him it is / þat I this book' shal make.
 As blyue as þat I herde of his comyng
 ffor ffrance / I penne and ynke gan to take,
 And my spirit I made to awake, 544
 þat longe lurkid hath in ydilnesse
 ffor any swich labour or bisynesse. 546

My new book is
meant for him.
As soon as I heard
of his coming
¶ acilicet de
secundo reditu
suo de ffrancia
from France, I
took pen and ink.

(79)

- " But of sum othir thyng / fayn trete I wolde, 547
 My noble lordes herte / with / to glade,
 As ther-to bownden am I deepe, & holde ;
 On swich mateere / by god þat me made,
 Wolde I bestowe many a balade, 551
 Wiste I what / good freend / tell on what is best,
 Me for to make / and folwe it am I prest. 553

[leaf 20]
But I'd like to
write something
to gladden him
with.

¹ MS thine ; but this is surely a writing mistake.

(80)

Next to our King Henry V.,	"Next our lord lige, our kyng victorious,	554
	In al this wyde world / lord is ther noon	
no lord has been so good to me for years as the Duke.	Vn-to me so good ne so gracious,	
	And haath been swich / yeeres ful many oon :	
	God yilde it him / as sad as any stoon	558
	His herte set is / and nat change can	
	ffro me, his humble <i>seruant</i> & his man.	560

(81)

I thought of englishing for him Vegetine on <i>Chieairy</i> ,	"ffor him I thoghte han translated Vegece	561
	Which tretith of the art of Chialrie,	
	But I see his Knyghthode so encrece,	
	pat no thyng my labour sholde edifie,	
but he knows it all.	ffor he pat art / wel can for the maistrie.	565
	Beyonde, he preeued hath his worthynesse,	
Cherbourg bears witnes to his valour.	And among othre / Chirburgh to witnesse.	567

(82)

[leaf 29, back]	"This worthy Prynce lay before pat hold	568
He besieged it	Which was ful strong / at seege many a day,	
	And thens for to departe hath he nat wold,	
	But knyghtly ther' abood / vp-on his pray	
and won it.	Til he by force it wan / it is no nay.	572
	Duc henri, pat so worthy was and good,	
	ffolwith this Prince / as wel in deede as blood.	574

(83)

	¶ "Or he to Chirburgh cam / in iourneyynge, ¹	575
And before, he won Constantine.	Of Constantyn he wan the cloos and yle,	
	ffor which / laude and honur and hy preysynge	
	Rewarden him / and qwyten him his whyle.	
	Thogh he befor pat had a worthy style,	579
	yit of noble renoun is pat encrees :	
He is a famous Prince.	He is a famous Prince / doutelees !	581

¹ Chirburgh, in John Stowe's hand, in the margin.

(84)

- "ffor to reherce or tell in special 582 I cannot relate all
 Euery act þat his swerd / in steel wroot there,
 And many a place / elles I woot nat al;
 And thogh euery act come had to myn ere,
 To yepresse¹ hem / my spirit wolde han fere, 586
 Lest I his thank² par chaunce mighte abregge
 Thurgh vnkonnyng / if I hem sholde allegge. 588

(85)

- "But this I seye / he callid³ is Humfrey 589 [leaf 21]
 Conueniently, as þat it seemeth me,
 ffor this conceit is in myn herte al-vey,
 Bataillous Mars / in his natiuitee
 Vn-to þat name / of verray specialtee 593
 Titled him / makynge him ther-by promesse
 þat strecche he sholde in-to hy worthynesse; 595

(86)

- "ffor humfrey / as vn-to myn intellect, 596 for that means
 'Man, make I shal' / in englissh is to seye;²
 And þat byheeste / hath taken treewe effect,
 As the commune fame / can bywrewe:
 Who-so his worthy knyghthode / can weye 600 and Common
 Duely in his conceites balaunce, Fame says he
 Ynow hath / wher-of his renoun enhaunce. 602 is one.

(87)

- "To cronicle his actes / wer' a good deede, 603 It would be a
 ffor they ensauple mighte, and encorage
 fful many a man / for to taken heede
 How for to gouerne hem in the vsage
 Of armes / it is a greet auauantage 607
 a good deed to
 chronicle his
 feats, to encourage
 other men.

¹ For 'expresse'!² Humfrey, quasi 'homme feray' [in margin] ? in a 17th-Century hand. Other scribble: 'John, Thomas . . John . . I winsayn bene . . as . . so p ff H Hon . . Ar mo . . stoke . . gingen . . Wielyam.'

A man before him / to haue a mirour,
Ther-in to see the path vn-to honour. 609

(88)

[leaf 21, back]
At the sieg
of Rouen,

" O lord / whan he cam to the seege of Roon 610

firo Chirburgh / whether fere or cowardlyse,
So ny the walles / made him for to goon
Of the town / as he dide? I nat souffyse
To telle yow / in how knyghtly a wyse 614

Duke Humfrey
did knightly.

He logged him ther' / and how worthily
He baar him / what / he is al knyght soothly. 616

(89)

What can I say
to please him?

¶ " Now, good freend / shoue at the cart, I yow preye ;

What thyng may I make vn-to his plesance? 618

Withouten your reed / noot I what to seye."

¶ ' O / no, pardee, Thomas / o. no, ascañnce.'

¶ " No, certein, freend / as now no cheuissance 621

Can I ; your conseil is to me holsum ;
As I truste in yow, mynystreth me sum." 623

(90)

He cares only for
proper things.

¶ ' Wel Thomas / trowest thow his hy noblesse 624

Nat rekke / what mateere þat it be

þat thow shalt make of?' ¶ " no, freend, as I gesse,
So þat it be mateere of honestee."

¶ ' Thomas, and thanne I wole auyse me ; 628

ffor who-so reed & conseil yeue shal,
May nat on heed / foorth renne ther-with-al. 630

(91)

[leaf 22]

' And þat¹ so noble a Prince, namely, 631

So excellent / worthy and honourable,

Shal haue / needith good anys soothly,

þat it may be pleasant and agreable
To his noblesse / it is nat couenable 635

Hocceleue's friend.
You must write
on a worthy
topic.

To wryte to a prince so famous,

But it be good mateer' and vertuous. 637

¹ What poem.

(92)

'Thow woost wel / who shal an hous edifie,	¶ Si quis habet fundare domum, non currit ad actum.	No one begins to build a house without advice.
Gooth nat ther-to withoute auisament,		
If he be wys, for with his mental ye		
first is it seen / pourposid / cast & ment,	¶ Impetuous manus, &c.	
How it shal wroght been / elles al is shent.	642	
Certes, for the deffaute of good foresighte,		
Mis-tyden thynges / þat wel tyde mighte.	644	

(93)

'This may been vn-to thee / in thy makynge	645	
A good mirour / thow wilt nat haaste, I trowe,		
Vn-to thy penne / and ther-with wirke heedlynge,		
Or thow auyssed be wel / and wel knowe	648	You mustn't write without taking thought, and getting advice.
What thow shalt wryte / o, Thomas / many a throwe		
Smertith the fool / for lak' of good ays;		
But no wight hath it smerted þat is wys;	651	

(94)

'ffor wel is he waar / or he wryte or speke,	652	[leaf 22, back]
What is to do or leue / Who by prudence		
Rule him shal / no thinge shal out from him breke		
Hastily ne of rakil negligence.'		
¶ "ffreend, þat is sooth / o / now your assistance	656	True, friend, says Hooccleve, advise me.
And help / what I shal make, I now byseeche;		
In your wys conceit / serche yee & seeche."	658	

(95)

¶ He a long tyme in a studie stood,	659	
And aftir þat, thus tolde he his entente :		
¶ ' Thomas, sauf better ays, I holde it good,		Hooccleve's friend. Thomas, as it's now Lent,
Syn now the holy seson is of lente		
In which it sit euery man him repente	663	
Of his offense / and of his wikkidnesse /		
Be heuy of thy gilt / and the confesse,	665	repent and confess your sins,

(96)

and make amends for them.	' And satisfaccion do thow for it.	666
You've often blained women;	Thow woost wel / on wommen, greet wyt ¹ & lak' Ofte haast thow put / be waar / lest thow be qwit.	
have written a quarter-sack of words against them, that they've not forgiven or forgotten.	Thy wordes fille wolde a quarter sak, ² Which thow in whyt / depeynted haast with blak'; In hir repreef, mochil thyng haast thow write, That they nat foryeue haue / ne foryite.	672

(97)

[leaf 23] Now write in praise of them.	' Sumwhat now wryte in honour & preysynge Of hem / so maist thow do correccioun Sumdel of thyn offense and mis-berynge. Thow art cleene out of hir' affeccioun ; Now syn it is in thyn eleccioun Whethir thee list / hir loue ageyn purchase, Or stonde as thow doost / out of loue & grace /	673 677 679
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(98)

It wants craft and art to please women.	' Bewar, rede I / cheese the better part. Truste wel this / wommen been felt and wyse ; Hem for to plesse / lyth greet craft & art. Wher no fyr maad is / may no smoke aryse ; But thow haast ofte / if thow thee wel auyse, Maad smoky brondes / and for al þat gilt, yit maist thow stonde in grace / if þat thow wilt.	680 684 686
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(99)

you'll confess your guilt,	' By buxum herte & by submission To hir graces / yildingee thee coupable / Thow pardon maist haue, & remission And do vn-to hem plesance greable. To make partie / art thow nothyng able ; Humble thy goost / be nat sturdy of herte ; Better than thow art / han they maad to smerte.	687 691 693
-------------------------------	--	-------------------------------

and please them.

You can't fight.

¹ *wyte*, blame ; not *wit*, the little brain that Hoccleve had.² A sack that holds a quarter (being a double sack), = a lot of words.—T. Austin.

(100)

- 'The wyf of Bathe, take I for auctrice 694 [leaf 22, back]
 þat wommen han no ioie ne deyntee
 þat men sholde vp-on hem putte any vice ;
 I woot wel so / or lyk' to þat, seith shee.
 By wordes writen / Thomas, yilde thee ; 698
 Euene as thow by scripture hem haast offendid,
 Right so / let it be by wrytynge amendid.' 700
- Chaucer's Wife of Bath says women don't like men to make them out vicious.*
As you're offend-ed en by writing, now make amends by it.

(101)

- ¶ "freend / thogh I do so / what lust or pleisir 701
 Shal my lord haue in þat / noon / thynkith me."
 ¶ 'Yis, Thomas, yis / his lust and his desir
 Is / as it wel sit / to his hy degree,
 ffor his desport / & mirthe in honestee, 705
 With ladyes / to haue daliance :
 And this book' / wole he shewen hem par chance. 707
- The Duke likes daliance with ladies. He'll show em your book,*

(102)

- 'And syn he thy good lord is / he be may 708
 ffor thee swich mene / þat the lightlyere
 Shuln they foryeue thee / putta.in assay
 My conseil / let see / nat shal it thee dere ;
 So wolde I doon / if in thy plyt I were. 712
 Leye hond on thy breest / if thow wilt so do,
 Or leue / I can no more seyn ther-to. 714
- and get you their forgiveness.*

(103)

- ¶ 'But thogh to wommen thow thyn herte bowe, 715 [leaf 24]
 Axynge hir graces / with greet repentance
 ffor thy giltes / thee wole I nat allowe
 To take on thee swich rule and gouernance
 As they thee rede wolde / for greuance 719
 So greet / ther folwe mighte of it, par cas,
 That thow repente it sholdest ay, Thomas. 721
- But you mustn't put yourself under women's rule.*

(104)

Eve beguiled
Adam, and the
serpent her.

But God said
Eve should break
the serpent's
head.

¶ ' Adam begyled was with Eeues reed, ¶ *Genesis Alt dom-*
And sikir so was shee by the Serpent, *sus ad serpentem /*
To whom god seide / "this womman thyn heed *ipm conteret caput*
Breke shal / for thurgh thyn enticement *trum, &c.*
Shee hath y-broken my commandement." 726
Now, syn womman had of the feend swich might;
To breke a mannes¹ heed / it seemeth light. 728

(105)

So let no husband
feel shame if his
wife break his
head.

'ffor why, let noon housbonde / thynke it shame 729
Ne repreef vn-to him / ne vilenye,
Thogh his wyf do to him þat selue sama.
Hir reson axith haue of men maistrie 732
Thogh holy writ witnesse and testifie ¶ *Eodem capitulo /*
Men sholde of hem han dominacioun, *Sub viri potestate eris /*
It is the reuers in probacioun. *& ipse dominabitur tui*
735

(106)

[leaf 24, back]
Hang up your
hatchet, and sit
down.

How do you and
your wife get on ?

Hoccleve.
She wouldn't
like me to tell
you.

' Hange vp his hachet / & sette him adoun ;² 736
ffor women wole assente in no maneere
Vn-to þat poynt / ne þat conclusioun.
¶ Thomas / how is it twixt thee & thy feere ? 739
¶ " Wel, wel, *quod* I / what list yow ther²-of heere ?
My wyf mighte haue hokir & greet desdeyn
If I sholde in swich cas / pleye a soleyn." 742

(107)

Hoccleve's friend.
If you want to
live in ease,

take patiently
all that women
say.

¶ ' Now Thomas / if thee list to lyue in ese, 743
Prolle aftir wommennes beneuolence.
Thogh it be dangerous / good is hem please,
ffor hard is it / to renne in hir' offense.
What so they seyn / take al in pacience. 747
Bettre art thou nat / than thy fadres before,
Thomas, han been / be right wel waar therfore.' 749

¹ Why is a man's head easier to break than a serpent's ?

² Compare the *Wife of Bath's Prolog and Tale*.

(108)

- ¶ "ffreend, hard it is / wommen to greeue, I grante ;
 But what haue I agilt / for him þat dyde, 751
 Nat haue I doon why / dar I me auante,
 Out of wommenes graces slippe or slyde."
 ¶ 'Yis, Thomas, yis / in thepistle of Cupyde 754
 Thow haast of hem / so largeliche said,
 That they been swart wrooth / & ful euele apaid.' 756
- In your
 'Epistle of Cupid'
 [in Stowe's hand]
 you've abused
 'em, and they're
 angry with you.

(109)

- ¶ "ffreend / doutelees sumwhat ther is ther-in 757 [leaf 25]
 þat sowneth but right smal to hir honour ;
 But as to þat / now, for your fadir kyn,
 Considereth / ther-of / was I noon Auctour ;
 I nas in þat cas / but a reportour 761
 Of folkes tales / as they seide / I wroot :
 I nat affermed it on hem / god woot ! 763
- Hocceve.
 But I didn't write
 that myself.
- I only reported
 other folks' tales.

(110)

- "Who so þat shal reherce a mannes sawe, 764
 As þat he seith / moot he seyn & nat varie,¹
 ffor, and he do / he dooth ageyn the lawe
 Of trouthe / he may tho wordes nat contraria.
 Who-so þat seith 'I am hir' Aduersarie, 768
 And dispreise hir condicions and port,
 ffor þat I made of hem swich a report,' / 770
- Whoever reports
 a man's sayings,
 must write what
 he said.
- And if any one
 says I run down
 women because I
 reported things
 of 'em in my
 'Cupid.'

(111)

- "He mis-ayseed is / and eek to blame. 771
 Whan I it spak' / I spak compleynyngly ;
 I to hem thoghte no reproof ne shame.
 What world is this / how vndirstande am I ? 774
 Looke in the same book' / what stikith by ?
 Who so lookith aright / ther-in may see
 þat they me oghten haue in greet cheertee, 777
- he is to blame.
- I didn't reprove
 'em.
- On the contrary,
 Women ought to
 hold me dear,

¹ This is Chaucer's excuse for telling his naughty Tales.

(112)

[leaf 25, back]
or I don't know
what's what.

"And elles / woot I neuere what is what. 778

The book' concludith for hem / is no nay,
Vertuously / my good freend / dooth it nat?"

¶ 'Thomas, I noot / for neuere it yit I say.'

"No, freend?" ¶ 'no, Thomas' / ¶ "Wel trowe I,
in fay; 782

If you'd read it
you'd confess
your mistake.

ffor had yee red it fully to the ende,
yee wolde seyn / it is nat as yee wende." 784

(113)

Hocceleve's friend.
'Well, Thomas,
do as I bid you;
please the women.

'Thomas / how so it be / do as I seide : 785

Syn it displeith hem / amendes make.
If þat some of hem thee ther-of vpbreide,

Thow shalt be bisy ynow, I vndirtake,
Thy kut to keepe / now I thee bytake 789

God send you
their love!

To god / for I moot needes fro thee weende :
The love and thank' of wommen / god thee seende!

(114)

Now and then I
shall visit you
before your
book's done,

'Among, I thynke thee for to visyte 792

Or þat thy book' fully finisshid be,
ffor looth me were / thow sholdest aght wryte
Wherthurgh / thow mightest gete any maugree ;

and see that you
don't write any-
thing to annoy
women.'

And for þat cause / I wole it ouersee ; 796

And, Thomas / now a dieu & fare weel ;
Thow fynde me shalt / al so treewe as steel.' 798

(115)

[leaf 26]
When my friend
was gone,

Whan he was goon / I in myn herte dredde 799

Stonde out of wommennes beneuolence ;
And to fulfille þat / þat he me redde,

I resolv'd to work
to win women's
love.

I shoop me do my peyne and diligence
To wynne hir loue by obedience. 803

Thogh I my wordes can nat wel portreie /
Lo, heer the fourme / how I hem obeye. 805

(116)

- | | | |
|---|-----|------------------|
| ¶ My ladyes all / as wisly god me blesse, | 806 | But, ladies, |
| Why þat yee meued been / can I nat knowe ; | | |
| My gilt cam neuere yit to the ripnesse, | | |
| Al-thogh yee for your fo / me deeme & trowe ; | | tho' you think |
| But I your freend be / byte me the crowe ! | 810 | me your foe, I'm |
| I am al othir to yow / than yee weene ; | | your friend, or |
| By my wrytynge / hath it, & shal be, seene. | 812 | else may the |
| | | Crow bite me ! |

(117)

- | | | |
|---|-----|----------------------|
| But nathelees / I lowly me submitte | 813 | |
| To your bontees / as fer as they han place | | |
| In yow / vn-to me, wrecche, it may wel sitte | | Still, I'll beg your |
| To axe pardoun / thogh I nat trespass ; | | pardon tho' I've |
| Leuer is me / with pitous cheere & face, | 817 | never harmed you. |
| And meek spirit, do so / than open werre | | |
| yee make me / & me putte atte werre. ¹ | 819 | |

(118)

- | | | |
|--|-----|--------------------|
| A tale esk' / which I in the Romain deedis | 820 | [leaf 36, back 1] |
| Now late sy / in honur & plesance | | |
| Of yow, my ladyes /—as I moot needis, | | And, to please |
| Or take my way / for fere in-to ffrance,— | | you, ladies, |
| Thogh I nat shapen be / to prike or prafce,— | 824 | |
| Wole I translate / and þat shal pourge, I hope, | | I'll english you a |
| My gilt / as cleene / as keuerchiefs dooth sope. | 826 | tale from the |
| | | <i>Geete Roma-</i> |
| | | <i>norman</i> . |

¹ At foot, in a later hand : 'Hyharie' (f).

² Per me gabriell curtys [in a later hand at top].

[For various readings from *MS Reg.* 17 D 6, see p. 243.]

XXII.

fabula de quadam Imperatrice Romana.

(1)

The *Gesta Romanorum* says
the Emperor
Jereslauswedded the fair
daughter of the
King of Hungary,

In the Romain actes writen is thus : 1
Whitom an Emperour in the Citee
Of Roome regned, clept Iereslaus,
Which, his noble estat & hy dignitee
Gouerned wyal; & weddid had he 5
The doghtir of the kyng of Vngarie,
A fair lady / to euery mannes ye. 7

(2)

a virtuous and
merciful woman.

And for þat beautee in womman, allone 8
Withouten bontee, is nat commendable,
Shee was ther-to / a virtuous persone,
And specially pitous & merciabe
In all hir wirkes / which ful couenable 12
And pertinent is / vn-to wommanhede :
Mercy causith / good renoon fer to sprede.¹ 14

(3)

[leaf 27]
Jereslaus resolvesto go to the Holy
Land.

Now in my tale fourth wole I proceede : 15
As þat this Emperour in his bed lay
Vp-on a nyght / a thoght gan in him breede,
Vn-to the holy land / to take his way ;
And on the morwe / left² lenger delay, 19
His wyf and his brothir / he made appeere
Before him / and hem seide in this maneere : 21

(4)

He tells his wife.

" My deere wyf / myn hertes ioie and hele, 22
þat thyng þat stablisshid in myn herte is,
I can nat hyde fro thee / ne concele,
Ne nat ne wole / and shortly it is this :
Vn-to the holy lond / I wole ywis ; 26

¹ b b b h h h . . . Thomas kyngston hath Rede this gudly
boke [in a later hand at the bottom of the page]. ² † MS. lest.

And for thy / make I thee principally
Of al thempyre / me absent / ' lady,'

28 He makes his
wife "Lady" of
the Empire,

(5)

" Bytakyng and comittynge vn-to thee,
Of peple and land / the charge special ;
And vndir thee / my brothir heer shal be
Steward of it / to rule & gouerne al
That to me and my peple, greet & smal,
Profitable is / by Conseil & assent
Algate of thee / and thyn aysament.¹

29 with charge of the
folk and land ;

and his brother
"Steward," to
rule all

33

by her advice.

35

(6)

" Al-thogh thes thynke / this purpos soleyne,
Yit be nat heuy / but in gree it take.
With goddes grace / my comynge ageyn
Shal nat be longe to / I, for thy sake,
Wole the shorter' abood / there make.
Truste me weel / as blyue as þat I may,
Haaste I me wole / fro thennes away."

36 [leaf 27, back]

He promises, for
her sake, to come
back home as soon
as he can.

40

42

(7)

"¶ To whom / with spirit of humilitee,
She seide / "syn it is your good plesance
To departe hens / & / go to þat Contree,
I take moot algates, in souffrance,
Your wil / and shal, with hertes obeissance,
As treewe as turtle / þat lakkith hir feere
In your absence / I shal be / my lord decre.

43 His wife, the
Empress,

submits to his
will.

47

She will be as
true to him as the
turtle-dove to its
mate.

49

(8)

" fful sore I am agast, & greetly dreede
þat neuere yee shuln thennes with your lyf
Retorne / almighty god yow saue & speede !"
he [to] hir' yaf wordes confortatyf,
And kiste hir' / and seide, " farewel, wyf !
Be nat abasehit / ne nat dreedith, I preye ;"
And foorth he hastith him in his iourneye.

50

54

56 The Emperor
starts for the
Holy Land.

¹ Later scribble at side ; 'h h ham for . . L L L . . L L,' &c.

(9)

[leaf 28] The Emperess grieves greatly at his going.	The sorwe of herte / and cheer ¹ of heuynessee ¹ 57
	Which this good lady at his departynge
	Made / the book ¹ nat can telle or expresse ;
	Wherfore / of þat haue I no knowlechyng ;
	Eek ¹ kepe I nat / the belle of sorwe out rynges, 61
	Thogh þat I kneew wel euery circumstance
	Of hir ¹ wo / & hir ¹ heuy contenance. 63

(10)

His brother gets proud,	¶ But whan this Emperour was thus agoon, 64
	His brothirs herte was so eleuat
	And so proud / þat by wight ne sette he noon ;
	Him self forgat he / for his hy estat ;
oppresses the poor,	The pore & simple folk / this potestat 68
	Oppressid sore / and dide hem greet duresse ;
and robs the rich.	The riche / he robbid eek ¹ of hir richesse. 70

(11)

Worse still,	And yit this wikkid man / this Seneschal, 71
	Meeued was werse / and to fulfih it / thoghþe ;
he plans and strives	he dide his might / and his peyne total,
	And alle weyes / serchid he & soghte,
to carry out a greater crime ;	And to bryng it aboute he faste wroghte ; 75
	Al-thogh he faillid / at preef and assay,
but a woman's No stops him.	He was knyht vp / with a wommanly nay. 77

(12)

[leaf 28, back] This Steward or Seneschal tries to make the Emperess lie with him.	He day by day lay / on this Emperice ² 78
	To make hir ¹ vn-to him flesshly consente ;
	¶ But shee answerde / " it wer ¹ ouer greet vice
	To me / if I ther-to myn herte bente.
She refuses,	Nay, brothir, nay / god woot, I neuere it mente, 82

¹ thomas . . Thomas kaye the sonne of thomas kay . . Thom-
mas Kaye the sone of Thommas Kaye . . Thomas Kaye the sonne
... s hus' [in a later hand in the margin].

² In a later hand, at top : 'be it kouge vnto all men be thes
present Wrying.'

Ne neuere shal / I truste in goddes grace ;
Yee goon wrong / yee mis-chosen han your place. 84

(13)

“ In al your lyf / yee neuere, ne noon othir, 85
Shal make me consente to þat synne.
ffor shame, fy / þat yee, my lordes brothir,
And whom þat he right feithful trust hath Inne, 89
Sholde any swich tale / to me begynne,
Which wer' ageyn his / and your honestee,
And myn / þat am his wyf, wel knowen yee. 91 whose wife she is.

(14)

“ A treewe wyf / I lyue wole & dye ; 92 She will be a
his wole I be / to whom þat I am bownde true wife to her
Whyle he lyueth and I / withouten lye ; husband.
Trustith wel / it noon othir shal be fownde.”
But for al this / at euery tyme & stownde 96 But still this bad
he stired hire / whan he fond hir soul, Steward urges her
Vn-to this deede vicious and foul. 98, to vice.

(15)

And whan shee sy / shee mighte haue no reste,— 99 [leaf 29]
Nat wolde he stynte of his iniquitee,—
Shee aftir three / or foure / of the gretteste
Of al thempire sente / and thus spake shee :
¶ “ Sires / the cause / þat hath meeued me 103 The Empress
ffor yow to sende / is this / as I shal seyn, sends for 3 or 4
Of which / I sore encombred am / certeyn : 105 Magnates,
and tells them

(16)

“ yee woot wel / þat my lord the Emperour, 106 that the Emperor
In his absence / hath maad me principal made her Chief
Of thempire / and his brothir gouernour of the Empire,
And Steward vndir me / for to rule al, and his brother
With this addicion / þat he nat shal 110 Steward, to rule
Wirke / my Conseil and assent vnhad : by her advice.
This was my lordes wil / and thus he bad ; 112

(17)

But the Steward " And nathelees / the poore he hath oppressid, 113
has oppress and
robd,
and tried to do And werse thyng / which shal nat been expressid
worse to her. As now / he wolde han doon / my self it knowe;
Wherefore / vp-on the feith / which þat ye owe 117
The Magnates To my lord / and on his part, I yow charge
must imprison Euprisone him / let him nat goon at large;¹ 119

(18)

[leaf 29, back] fettreth him faste" / and they answerden thus: 120
and fetter him. ¶ "Ma dame / he hath doon many a wikkid deede
Syn our lord wente / it wel knowe is to vs.
To your commandement / as we moot neede /
We wole obeie / but withoute dreede 124
ye muste in this / warrante vs and allowe,
Lest our lord / whan he comth / vs disallowe." 126

(19)

¶ "What, Sires," quod shee / "doutith yow right noght;
for if my lord kneew / as mochil as I, 128
That he hath doon / sholde be deere boght.
þat I yow charge / wole I stande by."
She will stand by They made anon areest on his body, 131
them. And in-to prison / they him threew & caste,
So the Magnates And fettred him in yren bondes faste, 133
put the Steward
in prison and in
fettres.

(20)

When he hears Wher' he abood / til þat word comen was, 134
the Emperor is How þat the Emperour was hoom comynge.
coming home, Thanne he thus thoghte / "how shal I doon / alas,
Now knowe shal my lord, by enquiryng,
The verray cause of myn enprisonynge, 138

¹ Later, at foot: ti — s — d
 1 — 10 — 2
 — 9 — 4
 3 — 4 84

[1 crost thro' for 2] 2 — 2 — 10 100
S^a to to Summa totalis 42 10

Wherthurgh, his grace / I vttrily shal leese,
Or *per cas* / my lyf / I ne shal nat cheese ; 140

(21)

"In feith if I may / it shal nat be so." 141 [leaf 30]
A messenger / as blyue ordeyned he,
And made him / to the Emperice go,
And byseeche hir' / of hir hy[e] bontee,
Syn shee had ay been of hir grace free, 145
pat shee so mochil grace / wolde him do,
As come / and speke a word with him or two. 147
to come and speak to him.

(22)

¶ Vn-to the dore / of his prison / shee cam ; 148
Withouten danger / shee ther-to obeide :
"What is your wil," *quod* shee / "lo, heer' I am." She comes.
He lookid pitously // and meekly preide,¹
"O gracious lady / reewe on me," he seide ; 152 He prays her
"If *pat* my lord me fynde heer' in prison,
My deeth wole it been, & confusion. 154
to pity him.

(23)

"My gentil lady / what shal yow profyte 155 What good 'll his
To do me of a mescheuous deeth sterue ?
If *pat* I lyue may / wole I me qwyte
Treewely to yow / and your thank disserue.
What yow list me commande / I wole obserue, 159
And do as humbely as any man
pat in this world lyueth / do may or can." 161
death do her ?

(24)

And shee anon right, meeued of pitee, 162 [leaf 30, back]
Seide / "if [*pat*] I wiste *pat* of thy folie
Thow stynte woldest, & amende thee
Hens-foorth / and thee vn-to vertu applie,
My grace wolde I nat to thee denye." 166 she'll pardon him.
He seide and swoor / al *pat* he cowde swere,
Amende he wolde / and wel aftir him bere. 168 He swears he will.

¹ Later, at side : 'hyghte . . Thomas . . bee.'
HOCLEVE, M. P.—II.

(25)

	¶ O noble lady / symple and Innocent,	169
Alas, she trusts him,	Trustynge vp-on his ooth and his promesse,	
	fful wo is me / for thy wo consequent!	
	Often happith / wommanes tendrenesse	
	Torneth hir' vn-to harm / and to duresse :	173
	This Emperice fond it so by preef,	
	Whom þat forsworn man / greet harm dide, & greef.	175

(26)

sets him free,	This man shee took' out of the prison hous,	176
	And made him bathid been, and freshly shaue,	
clothes him,	And dide him clothe in clothes precious,	
puts him on a steed,	And a fressh Courser / eek' shee made him haue,	
	And seide, "now, brothir / so god yow saue !	180
and bids him ride with her to meet the Emperor.	Takith your hors / and ryde foorth with me	
	Toward my lord" / and foorth with hir' rood he.	182

(27)

[leaf 51]	And as they riden / right in the hy way ¹	183
As they ride, a hart starts,	Ny a fforeste / an hert before hem ran :	
and every man rushes after it.	Ther nas but "ryde on, ryde / and hay, dogge, hay !"	
	Euery man dooth his peyne / in what he can,	
	The hert to suë / ther leftë no man	187
The Emperess is left alone with the Steward.	With this good lady / sauf this wikkid wight,	
	This Steward / which brak' al þat he had hight.	189

(28)

	¶ Par auenture / men wole han meruailh,	190
	That damoisele / with hir' had shee noon :	
	No force of þat / the book' withouten failh	
	Makith no mynde / as mochil as of oon ;	
(This happend long ago.)	This chaunce shoop / many a yeer agoon ;	194
	That tyme par cas / was no swich array	
	As þat in sundry Contrees is this day.	196

¹ Later, at top : 'within . . from eve dep.'

(29)

Whan this knyght sy / ther was noon but they two, 197	
To themperice / he seide in this maneere :	He asks her
"It is ago fern / syn I spak' yow to	
Of loue / come on now, my lady deere,	to come into the forest and yield to his desire.
With me / in-to this priuee foreste heere,	201
That y of yow / may haue my talent!	
Now shal be doon / þat I longe haue ment."	203

(30)

¶ "What, fool / took I thee nat out of prison),	204	[leaf 21, back]
No lenger hens / than yistirday," quod shee,		She reproaches him,
In trust and hope / of thy correccion,		
As thow swoor / and behightest vn-to me ;		
And now to thy folie and nycetee	208	
Retourne woldest thow / nay, doutelees		
It shal nat be / stynte and holde thy pees !	210	bids him hold his tongue,

(31)

"Ther neuere shal man / do with me þat deede,	211	
Sauf my lord themperour / which þat of right		
Licenced is ther-to / o, god forbeede,		
þat by myn honestee / sette I so light!		
Peyne thee nat ther-to / for in thy might	215	
Shal it nat be / thy wil for to perfourme ;		
By no way wole I me ther-to confourme."	217	and absolutely refuses him.

(32)

And he answerde / and spak' vnreuerently :	218	He declares that if she won't give herself to him,
"But if þat thow / consente wilt to me		he'll hang her on a tree by her hair,
In this foreste / as swythe right wole y		
Hange thee by thyn heer / vp-on a tree,		
Wher no wight shal thee fynde / and so," quod he, 222		to starve and die.
Of wikkid deeth / thow sterue shalt & die ;		
Truste on noon help at al, ne remedie."	224	

(33)

[leaf 32]	¶ "By thy manaces / sette I nat a myte,"	225
She scornis his threats.	Shee seide / "of hem haue I no dreede at al. Thogh thow me thretne / myn heed of to smyte, And do me what torment thow canst / I shal Thee werne ay þat / this for answer final	229
He shall never haue her alive.	Take if thee list / for, to þat poynt me dryue, Thow neuere shalt / whyles I am on lyue.	231

(34)

	"Thow woost wel / in effect / thus seide I eer."	232
The Steward strips the Empress to her smock, hange her on an oak by her hair,	He strypid hir' anoon / left al delay, Vn-to hir smok / and heng hir' by hir' heer Vp-on an ook' / and by hir', hir palfray He stonde leet / and forth on deuel way	236
and rides off, the tyrant.	Rood this tirant / this man malicious, This cruel-herted man enuonymous.	238

(35)

	And whan he had his felawshipe atake,	239
Then he lies to his men,	He bleew and blustred / and made heuy cheere; And a strong lesyng' / he gan to hem make;	
and says that the Empress was carried off by force from him.	He seide, "allas / þat I nere on my beere, So wo is me / for þat my lordes feere, My lady, is me reft / by force of men."	243
	God yeue him sorwe // and aȝt swiche [Amen]!	245

(36)

[leaf 32, back]	¶ O false lyer' / o thow cofre and cheste ¹	246
Liar, stinking adulterer,	Of vnclennesse / o stynkyng Aduoutour In wil, seye I / and willy to incese;	
traitor,	O false man to god / and thow traitour To thy lord and brothir, the Emperour;	250
	O enemy to wyfly chastitee, And in thy wirkes ful of crueltee;	252

¹ Later, at top: 'O false lyer.'

(37)

¶ O cursid feendly wrecche / why hast thou 253 devilish wretch!
 Deceyued & betrayed Innocence?
 What wilt thou seye / & how wilt thou looke, how,
 Whan thou comest / to thy Lordes presence,
 And art opposid by his excellence, 257
 How þat it with his lady hath betid[de]?
 I am seur / þat the trouthe shal been [hidde]. 259

(38)

ffor as wel as þat to thy conpaignie 260
 Thow lyedist / whan thou hem ouertook' /
 As lowde wilt thou / vn-to thy lord lye, you'll lie to your Lord.
 I woot wel / and with bolde face and look'.
 Natheless / of this tretith nat the book'; 264
 Wherforē to my talē wole I go,
 Of this lady / and foorth tell of hir wo. 266

(39)

¶ Whan þat shee so had hanged dayes three,¹ 267 [leaf 23]
 By þat forestē / rood ther on huntynge
 An Erl / þat was of a strangē contree; An Earl, while hunting,
 Beforn whos howndes was a fox rennyng,
 And they aftir it blyuē folewynge; 271
 And as þat they ran / they hadden a sent
 Of the lady / and thidir be they went; 273

(40)

And there as shee heeng / they stood at a bay. 274
 This Erl, of þat meruaillynge him greetly, sees the Empress hanging on the oak.
 Thidir him hyeth / in al þat he may;
 And whan he hire / there hangynge sy,
 He seidē / "womman / what art thou, & why 278
 Hangest thou in this wyse vp-on the tree!"
 ¶ "A strange womman / sire, am I" / quod shee, 280

¹ Later, at top: 'Wh . . . Beniamen . . . benefold . . . Beniamin . . . Benec e e e a.' At side: 'Thomas, I haue my hertili comendyd vnto you of du . . .'

(41)

	"Of fer[re] parties / how in-to this place	281
She won't tell him who she is.	I cam / god woot" / shee wolde by no way	
	Deskeuere what shee was / ne what fallace	
	Was doon to hire / cloos she kepte hire ay,	
	And tolde nat o word of hire affray.	285
	Than axed hire the Erl / "whos hors is this	
	þat by thee standith?" // <i>quod</i> shee, "myn it is;"	

(42)

[leaf 88, back]	Wherby the Erl anoon right vndirstood	288
	þat it noon othir wyse mighte be,	
	But shee sum gentil womman was of blood;	
The Earl pities her,	And in his herte / routhe of hire had he,	
	And seide to hire / "if it lyke thee,	292
and offers to free her	Vn-to my wil / thee confourme and enclyne /	
	Deliure wole I thee / out of thy pyne.	294

(43)

	"Lo, this I meene / this is myn entente;	295
	A yong doghtir / haue I in soothfastnesse,	
if she'll be his daughter's governess.	Of which I wolde / if þat thee list assente,	
	Thow tooke on thee to be gouerneresse,	
	And teche hire / as longith to a Maistresse	299
	þat Lordes children han in gouernaift;	
	And wel wole I thee qwyte thy trauaift;	301

(44)

	"Myn entente is þat / and othir right noon."	302
She agrees,	¶ "Sire," <i>quod</i> shee / gladly wole I obeye	
is taken down,	To yow in þat" / and shee was take anoon	
	Doun fro the tree / & shortly for to seye,	
goes to the Earl's castle, and takes charge of his girl.	With him to his Castel / shee rood hir weye;	306
	And of the chyld / shee tooke the gouernance,	
	Which torned hire aftir to greet nusance.	308

(45)

Shee with this yong chyld in the Chambre lay ¹	309	[leaf 34]
Euery nyght / wher lay therl and the Contesse,		She sleeps with the child in the Earl's room.
Betwixt whos beddes brente a lampe alway ;		
And wel beloued / for hire hy goodnesse,		
Of euery wight was / bothe more and lesse,	313	
This Emperice / til vp-on a nyght,		
Giltles, hir good loos / refte a wikkid wight.	315	

(46)

¶ Ther was a Styward / in this Erles hous,	316	The Earl's Steward wants to lie with her.
pat to hire ofte had spoke of flesshly loue ;		
To whom seide ay this lady gracious,		
"Maad haue I an avow to god aboue,		
Loueres alle / fro myn herte shoue,	320	
Sauf oonly him / whom, of goddes precept,		
To Loue / I holde am / and pat shal be kept.	322	

(47)

"I truste in god / myn herte shal nat change	323	She refuses him.
fro pat, whil my lyf shal sojourne in me."		
¶ "O / wilt thou so / wilt thou make it so strange ;		
Wilt thou noon othir wyse do," quod he.		
¶ "pat I seid haue / I wole holde," quod shee.	327	
And whan he sy / noon othir remedie,		
He wroothly wente / out of hir compaignie.	329	He resolves to be

(48)

And fro thens foorth / compassid in his wit, ²	330	[leaf 34, back]
How to be venged / vp-on hire, & wroken.		revenged on her.
¶ And on a nyght / vnhapply shoop it,		
Left was the Erles Chambre dore vnstoken ;		
To which he com / and fond it was nat loken,	334	

¹ Later scribble at top and side: 'o . . of . . of the saide saide . . of the saide . . 4,000,000,000 . . 278231459 . . as . . of the Of . . Sy . . 400,000,000 . . 29,000,000.'

² Later letters often scribbled in margins: D, h, y, a, w, n h n, and 'myn . . . And for . . . where . . . hyl.'

The Steward
steals into her
bedroom,

And theeffly in stal / this wikkid persone,
Where as he fond hem slepyng euerychone. 336

(49)

And he espyde / by the lampes light, 337
The bed / where as þat lay the Emperice
With therles doghtir / and as blyue right
This feendly man his purposid malice
Thoghþe for to fulfih and accomplice ; 341
And so he dide / a long knyf he out drow,
And ther-with-al / the mayden chyld he slow. 343

(50)

Hir throte with þat knyf / on two he kutte ; 344
And as this Emperice / lay slepyng,
In-to hire hand / this bloody knyf he putte,
ffor men sholde haue noon othir demyng,
But shee had gilty been / of this murtheryng. 348
And whan þat he / had wroght this cursidnesse,
Anoon out of the Chambre / he gan him dresse. 350

(51)

[leaf 35] ¶ The Contesse aftir / of hir sleep awakid,¹ 351
To themperices bed gan caste hir look,
The Countess
sees the knife,
And sy the bloody knyf in hire hond nakid,
And for the fere / shee tremblid and qwook'
wakes the Earl, And rogged on hir lord / and him awook', 355
Preyyng him / to the bed he looke wolde,
And there a meruailous thyng / seen he sholde. 357

(52)

¶ Whan he was wel awakid of his sleep, 358
He lookid ther-to / as shee him besoghte,
And it byheeld / and of it took' good keep,
And of þat meschief / him sore forthoghte
Demyng þat this cursid deede wroghte 362
This Emperice / as þat it was ful lyk'
To been / and vp he threew an heuy syk', 364

¹ Later, at top and in margin : 'The Contesse . . . dan (†) . . . H . . . pr . . . p . . .'

(53)

And hire awook' / and thus to hire he cryde, 365
 "Womman! what is þat in thyn hand I see?
 What hast thou doon, womman! for him þat dyde, and accuses her
 of the murder.
 What wikkid spirit / hath trauailid thee!"
 And as soone / as þat adawid was shee, 369
 The knyf fil out of hire hond in the bed[de],
 And shee byheeld the clothes al bybled[de] / 371

(54)

And the chyld deed: "Allas!" shee cryde, "allas!" [leaf 35, back]
 How may this be / god woot al / I noot how; 373
 I am nat pryuee to this heuy cas;
 The gilt is nat myn / I the chyld nat slow." She vows she
 didn't kill the
 child.
 To which spak' the contesse / "what seist thou? 376
 Excuse the nat / thou maist nat seyn nay;
 The knyf al bloody / in thyn hand I say." 378

(55)

And thus / vn-to hir lord / shee cryde anon: 379
 "Slee this cursid feend / þat our chyld hath slayn!
 Lat hire no lengere [now] on lyue goon!
 þat y neuere had hire seen / wolde I ful fayn,
 But or shee heer cam / þat shee had be flayn! 383
 ffor so greet wo / cam neuere to myn herte:
 Slee hire as blyue / lat nat hire asterte!" 385

(56)

Al-thogh þat shee were in this cas vengeable, 386
 ffor causes two / me thynkith it smal vice,
 Shee was in þat in partie excusable:
 ¶ Oon is / shee wende / þat the Emperice
 Hire chyld had slayn of purposid malice; 390
 And so it seemed / as by liklyhede,
 Al be it / þat nat were it so in dede. 392

¹ Scribbles of letters at top and in margin: 'H . . Hn . . f . .
 the loh, H H, y y y y y y, h h h h h h, h h, h h, non ny non,
 h h, a.'

(57)

(leaf 36)	þat othir cause / as woot euery man :	393
No love is so great as a mother's for her child ;	In [al] the world / so louynge tendrenesse Is noon / as is the loue of a womman To hir chyld namely / & as I gesse,	
and for her hus- band, we married men may say.)	To hire housbonde also / where-of / witnesse We weddid men may bere / if þat vs lyke, And so byhoueth / a thank' vs to pyke.	397 399

(58)

	¶ Now foorth / how the erl to themperice him hadde, And how þat he gouerned þat mateere,	401
	Herkneth / with heuy cheere & wordes sadde, To hire he spak' / and seide in this maneere :	403
The Earl says he'll not kill the Empress.	" Womman / with my sword / slee wolde I thee heere, Sauf for awe of god / at whos reuerence þat deede wole I putte in abstinence.	406

(59)

	" Thow haue shalt for me noon harm at al ;	407
	But who-so trustith on the curtesie Of thee / ful soone he deceyued be shal.	
He set her free,	Whan þat thow were / on a tree hangid hye, Where as thow likly haddest been to dye,	411
and in return she's kild his daughter.	Thow woost wel / ther-from I deliured thee, And with my Doghitres deeth / thow qwit hast me !	413

(60)

(leaf 36, back)	" Vnkynde womman / walke on foorth thy way ;	414
She must go,	Hye thee hens / and neuere see my face ; ffor if þat I / heere-after thee see may,— Outhir in this / or eny othir place Of my lordshipe /—thow noon othir grace	418
or else be slain.	Shalt han / but die a deeth ful villenous, Thow wikkid womman, fals and traiterous !	420

(61)

The Empress speaks no word,	This Innocent lady / no word ageyn Spak' / for shee spoken had ynow befor,	421
--------------------------------	---	-----

Excusynge hire / but, al was in veyn ; —her first excuses
were in vain—
 ffor whan þat shee had al y-seyd and sworn,
 Shee with the Erl and his wyf / was doun born ; 425
 And sikirly / where as þat no credence
 May been had / wysdam conseillith silence. 427

(62)

¶ What leese þat shee took' / ne woot I nat, 428
 Or þat shee fro þat place was y-went ;—
 The booke maketh no mencion of that ;—
 But hire palfray / shee hire self hath hent, but mounts her
palfray,
and rides off.
 And so fourth roode toward the orient. 432
 O Emperice / our lord god gye thee,
 ffor yit thee folwith more aduersitee.¹ 434

(63)

As shee rood, on hir right hand / shee espyde 435 [leaf 37]
 A galwe tree / to which men a theef ledde,
 Hanged to been / and to hire horses syde
 The spore gooth / shee faste hire thidir spedde,
 ffor verray routhe hir thoghte hire herte bledde, 439
 And to the Officers / meekly shee preide
 In this wyse / and right thus shee to hem seide : 441

(64)

“Sires, if yow list / this mannes lyf saue 442
 I reedy am / to yeue yow good meede.”
 ¶ “We wole wel,” quod they / “what shul we haue?
 What lykith yow / for his lyf vs to beede?
 Paieth therfore wel / and yee shul speede.” 446
 They of the paiement / accordid were ;
 Shee paide / and this man / fourth shee took' with here. buys him of his
guards,
and takes him
with her.

¹ In margin, in a later hand :

Of alle thinges that I can fynde,

Hope dothe help the carefult mynd, quod Carter.

At foot: s d.

20

10 — 2

9 — 4

39 6

(65)

"Be to me treewe" / now *quod* shee, "my freend, 449
Syn fro thy deeth / deliured haue y thee."

The rescued Thief
promises to serve
the Emperess
faithfully.

¶ "Yis, certes, lady / elles to the feend,

Body and soule bytake y," seide he ;

"Noon othir wolde I / for al cristientee, 453

Been vn-to yow" / and foorth shee rood hir way,

And on his foot / this man hire folwith ay,¹ 455

(66)

[leaf 37, back]

Til þat they drow / vn-to a Citee ny,² 456

She sends him
to find an Inn
in a City,

Whidir befor / shee bad him for to go

And take hire In / so þat shee honestly

Mighte Inned been / and he dide right so,

And taried nat his lady longe fro, 460

But ageyn hire / as blyue right this man,

To brynge hire thidir / faste wente & ran. 462

(67)

and then lives
there.

Shee cam in-to hir In / and abood there 463

Dayes dyuerse / for hire ese and reste ;

And in the Citee / fame wydewhere

Sprang / how a lady / the womanlyeste

Of cheere / port / shap / and eek the faireste 467

That any wight beholde mighte or see,

Was come / and Inned hire in the Citee. 469

(68)

She is courted
in vain by many
lovers.

Many a lusty man / in loues art 470

Expert and sotil / drow hem to hire In,

Weenyng han geten þat / of which no part

¹ At foot, later :	li	s	d
	1	— 10	— 2
		9	— 4
	1	19	6

Summa totalis 39^a 6d

² In margin, in a later hand :

Thys ys Iohn Hanook ys boke, ho so euer saye naye,
the deuyll of hell bere Thomas Carter awaye !

Know er thow knyht, and then thow mayst slake ; (see p. 124)

lff thow knyht [*M.S.* kynt] er thow know, then hyt ys to late.

They gete kowde / for noon art ne gyn.
 To thententes corrupt / þat they were In, 474
 Shee wolde for no thyng / bowe & enclyne ;
 Hire hertes Castel / kowde they nat myne. 476

(69)

As fer as the boundes of honestee¹ 477 [leaf 38]
 Requeren / shee made hem disport and cheere ;
 But passynge it / for al hir sotiltee,
 ffor profre of meede / ne for faire preyeere,
 Shee change nolde hir vertuous maneeere ; 481 but nothing more.
 The lessons þat they in Ouyde had red,
 Halp hem right noght / they wenten thens vnsped. 483

(70)

¶ O. yee þat seyn / wommen be variant, 484 How silly it is
 And can nat sad been / if they been assaillid !
 Yee been ful vnkonnyng and ignorant,
 And of the soothe / foule yee han faillid ;
 Constance is vn-to wommanhode entaillid ; 488
 Out of þat fee / they nat be dryue may ;
 Swich hir nature is / thogh sum men seyn nay, 490

(71)

They stidefast been / as fer as y woot, 491
 But it be / wher they take han a purpos
 þat naght is / which, be it neuere so hoot,
 They change / lest it hurte mighte hir loos,
 And keepen it secree / couert & cloos, 495
 Vnexecut / thogh of hem nat a fewe
 The reuers doon / what / the feend is a shrewe. 497

(72)

Let al this passe / ther cam to the port 498 [leaf 38, back]
 Of this Citee / a ship with marchandyse
 Charged / where-of hir man made report
 To his lady / shee bad him in al wyse
 Go thidir, and see / and him wel auyse 502
 A merchant-ship comes.
 She sends to know

¹ At top, later : A nunni a A a nunni A nunni k k k (?).

what's on board of it. What thyng ther-in was / & word hoom hire brynge,
Withoute any delay or taryynge. 504

(73)

Her man (the Thief) finds rich stuffe, He thidir wente / & clothes precious, 505
Amonges othir thynges / there he fond ;
fful ryche was the stuf, and plenteuous,
Of the ship / and the maistir, by the hond
he took / and seide / "ga we to the lond, 509
[Vn]To my ladyes In / shee wolde bye,
If þat yow list / sum of your marchandie." 511

(74)

and takes the Shipman ¶ "I wole gladly" / seide the Shipman ; 512
And to the ladyes In / they bothe two
Goon / but before dressith him hir man,
And reported hire / as him oghite do,
What he had in the ship seen / and ther-to, 516
That the Shipman was comen / he hir tolde,
Axyng hire / if shee w~~ith~~ him speke wolde. 518

(75)

[leaf 39] ¶ "Yis," *quod* shee / "let him in come, I the preye."
to the Emperess. He entred / and vn-to him thus spak shee : 520
¶ "Sire / yee han in your ship heere, y seye,
She asks him to bring his clothe to her. Dyuerse precious clothes / and if yee
Wolden some of hem brynge hidir to me, 523
As þat we mighte accorde, wolde y paye
In honde / and nat your paiement delaye." 525

(76)

He agrees, ¶ "Ma dame, I grante," he seide / and took his leue ;
And with him / hir *seruant* to the ship wente, 527
To whom / the shipman by the way gan meue :
but tempts her thief-servant. ¶ "ffreend, I am set / on a certain entente,
Vn-to the whiche / if þat thou wilt assente, 530
And do thy deuer / and my Conseil hyde,
That thou me kneew / thow blisse shalt the tyde. 532

(77)

- "O, may I truste / may I truste in thee? 533
 Thow helpe me maist / and no wight but thow.
 If thow wilt so / in this necessitee,
 Gold and siluer wole I thee yeue ynow."
 ¶ "Yis," *quod* this *seruant*, "that I make avow 537 Her thief-servant
 To god / if þat it in my power lye, agrees to take the
 Myn help to thee / ne wole y nat denye. 539 Shipman's bribe,

(78)

- "If thow heere-aftir / fynde þat I gabbe, 540 [leaf 39, back]
 Of my promesse / thanne dokke me ;
 I neuere was yit / of my tonge a labbe ;
 þat thyng / þat me told is in priuete, 544
 Keepe I can wel / be in noon aweertee,
 But anoon to me telle out al thy gole,
 ffor treewe and trusty / be to thee y wole." 546 and vows to be
 true to him.

(79)

- ¶ "Grant mercy," seide the Shipman ; "I-wis, 547
 Now feele I confort / now dar y bywreye
 To thee myn *hertes* secree / which is this :
 Swich excellence of beautee is, y seye,
 In thy lady / þat but if thow purueye 551 The Shipman
 ffor me / þat y hir loue may obteene, says he must
 ful shorte shuln my dayes been / y weene." 553 get hold of the
 Emperess.

(80)

- ¶ *Quod* this *seruant* / "looke how y may profyte 554 Her servant
 In this, let see / and me sette in the way
 How y shal do / and so shal y me qwyte,
 þat y thy thank / disserue shal for ay ;
 Al shal be doon right to thyn owne pay ; 558 promises to help
 Telle on / how wilt thow þat I me gouerne." him.
 The Shipman seide / "and þat I wole as yerne : 560

(81)

[leaf 40] ¶ "On my behalve / to thy lady weende, 561
 And to hire seye / þat in no maneere,
 Clothes out of my ship may I hire seende ;
 If hir good lust be, in my ship appeere,
 Shee shal seen what hir list / with ful good cheere ; 565
 But out of my ship / wole y nothyng selle :
 Right euene thus / vn-to hir seye and telle ; 567

The servant is
 to say that the
 Emperess must
 come to the ship
 to see the clothis.

(82)

¶ "But of o thyng / thow must thee wel auyse,— 568
 Good heede ther-of take / and nat ne faith,—
 Be thow wel waar / in al maneere wyse
 þat the wynd thanne / be good, hens to sailh ;
 Al þat thow doost elles / may nat auaih ; 572
 ffor lede hire hoom / wole y to my contree :
 Lo, this is al / þat y desire of thee." 574

He must bring
 her when the
 wind's fair for
 leaving port.

(83)

fful sooth is seid / the fals and coueitous 575
 Been soone accordid / allas ! this onhede
 Synful shal be / wikkid and treecherous.
 O / Emperice / god the gye and lede !
 Thow haast, or this, had trouble greet & drede, 579
 And yit a sharp storm is vn-to thee shape ;
 But, thankid be god / al thow shalt eschape. 581

(84)

[leaf 40, back] ¶ Now to purpos / than seide this seruant 582
 To the Shipman / "come of, yeue me meede,
 ffor heere y swere / and make couenaunt,
 This shal be doon / haue there-of no drede."
 He had[de], y not what / the deuel him speede 586
 ffor his labour / to be doon in this caas ;
 And to his lady / dressith he his paas. 588

The man swears
 he'll do this.

(85)

He tolde hire / how the Shipman wolde naght	589	Her thief-servant tells her
Deliure clothes / out of his vessel ;		
But if it lykid hire / to bye[n] aght /		
Thidir shee muste come / and he ful wel		
With hire wolde do / shee kneew no del	593	she must go to the ship to buy cloths.
Of the treson / purposid twixt hem two,		
And seide / "in goddes name / it shal be do ;	595	

(86)

"I reedy am to go / whan þat y shal,	596	She agrees.
Syn þat thow seist / it may noon othir be,		
But outhir moot y goon / or leuen al.		
Let vs go thidir as swythe," quod shee.		
¶ "A / nay, madame / it may nat be" / seide he,	600	
"Swich occupacioun hath he this day,		
That he vn-to yow / nat entende may.	602	

(87)

"Ma dame / vs muste abyden his leisir ;	603	[leaf 41]
There-on I wole awayte bysily ;		
And whan tyme is / yee shuln han your pleisir.		
Ofter. vp-on him awayte moot y,		He waits till
To wite and knowe / wel and redily, ¹	607	
The tyme / whan we shal vs thidir dresse :		
Ma dame / for yow / this best is, y gesse."	609	

(88)

This humble lamb / this lady Innocent,	610	
Of al this treson no notice hanynge,		
Seide / "as þat thow doost / holde y me content."		
Thus hir seruant delayed hir goynge		
Til þat the wynd wel stood / the ship to brynge	614	the wind is off shore, and then takes her to the ship.
Out of the port / and thidir he hir spedde,		
And þat in haaste, he to the ship hire ledde.	616	

¹ Later scribble in margin : After my most . . . Thomas, you be a good samener (!) . . . thoin . . . This bit made the . . . b ll . . . Shi.

(89)

The Shipman
sails off with the
Empress.

Whan shee withyn the Shipbord entred was, 617
Vp gooth the sail / to the top of the mast.
Hire man, of purpos / lefte on londe / allas.
Quod Shee / "nat was y waar of this forcast ;"
And ther-with-al / out to weepe shee brast, 621
And seide, " what treson / doost thou, Shipman,
To me ? " ¶ " nay," quod he, " no treson / womman,

(90)

[leaf 41, back]
and demands to
lie with her.

" Nat meene I, but thus / lo / thus wole I do, 624
flessly the knowe / and aftir wedde thee."
¶ " A vow," quod shee / " maad haue I god vn-to,
þat neuere so / shal ther man do to me,
She refuses. ffor thyng in this world / outake oonly he 628
To whom y am y-bownden to / and¹ knyht ;
The labour is in vein / to speke of it." 630

(91)

¶ " Keepe in thy wordes / womman, I thee rede," 631
Quod he / " considere and thynke wel, þat thou
Of thy lyf standist in peril and drede,
ffor in middes of the See been we now.
He threatens to
throw her into
the sea. To me conforme / it shal be for thy prow, 635
Elles in-to the See wole I thee caste ;
Truste me wel / so wole y do as faste." 637

(92)

She temporizes, ¶ " Now wel," quod shee / " syn y may nat asterte 638
My deeth / but y your entente fulfille,
Al-thogh it be greetly ageyn myn herte :
Yit rather than þat yee me sle or kille,
Wole y assente / so it be your wille, 642
and asks him to
make a private
room for them. In the ende of the ship / for to ordeyne
An honest place / and pryuee / for vs tweyne. 644

¹ MS. and and.

(93)

- "It is nat / as I hope / your entente¹ 645 [leaf 42]
 In open sighte of folk / do *with* me so :
 Hard were it make me / ther-to consente,
 ffor þat / a greet encrees were of my wo ;
 Yit leuer were it me / my lyf forgo. 649
 A pryuee place, as I seide / purueye
 ffor vs / þat folk see nat / how we foleye." 651

He cannot mean
to force her before
his men.

(94)

- ¶ He in the ship / where as was his plesance, 652 The Shipman
 A place ordeyned / curtynd aboute,
 In-to the which / with heuy contenance,
 Whyles he speek^t with his meynne *with*oute,
 Shee entred hath / and anoon gan to loute 656
 To god / right on hir knees she hir prayeere
 Made / as I to yow shal rehercen heere : 658

The Shipman
makes a curtained
room.

(95)

- ¶ "O god, our Lord, Ihesu, our Saueour, 659 The Emperess
 þat fro my youthe / haast kept me to this day,
 Curteys Ihesu / me keepe now this hour
 ffrom al pollucioñ / so þat y may,
 With herte cleene / in this woful affray, 663
 My soule yilde to thy deitee ;
 Mercyful lord / of this byseeche y thee !" 665

save her from
pollution.

(96)

- Nat endid was hire orison vnnethes, 666 [leaf 42, back]
 But swich a tempest / aroos in the See,
 þat the ship brast / and there took hire dethes
 They þat ther in weren / the hool meynne,
 Sauf onoly this maistir shipman / and shee : 670
 By oon of the bordes / shee faste hire heeld,
 Which from hire deeth was hire deffense & sheeld, 672

A tempest splits
the ship in two.

All the crew
perish, but she
and the Shipman.

¹ In margin, later scribble: A nunny . . A nunn . . hou . .
 In the . . In the . . In the . . In.

(97)

The Emperess is
carried safely to
land.

The Shipman is
also saved.

And broghte hire vp / vn-to the land saufly. 673
To an othir bord / this maister shipman
Eek claf / and was sauf / this fil wondirly :
Many maistries our lord god do can ;
And þat this lady, this noble womman 677
Was sauf / this maistir shipman kneew no deel,
Ne shee / þat he fortunad had so weel. 679

(98)

The Emperess goes
into a Nunnery,

¶ Of this shipman / speke y no more as now ; 680
But this lady / vn-to a Nonnerie
þat was but there faste by / hir drow,
Wher the ladyes / of hir conpaignie
Were ful glad, & of hir genterie 684
Receyued hire / al thogh þat no notice
They hadde / of hire estat of Emperice. 686

(99)

[leaf 45]

and, by God's
grace, heals sick
folk.

And there abood shee / a long tymes space 687
In holy lyf / and vertuous clenness ;
Vn-to whom god yaf / and shoop swich a grace,
þat shee kowde hele folk of hir seeknesse,
What so it were / and thidir gan hem dresse 691
ffrom euery part / and euery Contree,
They þat felten any infirmitee.¹ 693

(100)

Her cursed
brother-in-law

is now a leper.

Than shoop it / he þat to the Emperour 694
Was brothir / which this lady on a tree
By hire heer vp heeng / þat cursid traitour,
Mirour of malice and iniquitee,
As foul a leepre was / as mighte be : 698
Lo, thogh god him / to wreke a whyle abyde,
The fals and wikkid, qwytyth he sum tyde. 700

¹ Later scribble in margin : 'Richte welle . . Robarte . . Robarte . . ff hrummm.'

(101)

The knyght eek which the Erles doghtir slow—	701	The false knight who kild the Earl's daughter
The Emperice & shee / bothe sleepynge,		
As I before told haue / vn-to yow—		
Was blynd and deaf / and also the tremblynge		is blind, deaf, and palsied.
Of palesie / sore gan him wrynge :	705	
No force how sore / swich a wreeche smerte,		
That to wommen / so cruel is of herte.	707	

(102)

¶ The thief / which to the maistir of the ship	708	[leaf 42, back] The thief-servant
Betrayed themperice, his lady, als		
ffrom harm ne greef / kowde nat make a skip—		
God sheelde he sholde / he þat was so fals		
To hire / þat from the roop[e] kepte his hale—	712	
Potagre and gowty / & halt he was eek',		is gouty and lame.
And was in othir sundry wyse seek'.	714	

(103)

¶ The Shipman had also the franesie,	715	The Shipman has the frenzy.
þat with this Emperice / hadde ment		
ffulfillid his foul lust of aduoutrie,		
Which was in him / ful hoot and ful feruent :		
See how aH hem / þat to this Innocent,	719	
This noble lady / had y-doone greuance,		
Our lord god qwitte / with strooke of vengeance.	721	

(104)

¶ Yee men, whos vsage is, wommen to greeue,	722	God's vengeance falls on deceivers of women.
And falsely deceyue hem and bytraye,		
No wondir is / thogh yee mis happe & cheeue :		
God qwyte yow wole / and your wages paye		
In swich[e] wyse / þat it yow shal affraye.	726	
Let goddes wreches hens-foorth yow miroure,		
ffor, but if yee do / yee shul bye it soure.	728	

(105)

[leaf 44]	¶ Now to the Emperour, tornē wole y,	729
When the Em- peror hears of the Holy Woman	Which, whan he herde / þat in an Abbeye Of Nonnes / was a womman so holy, And ther-to so konnyng, he herd[e] seye, That voide kowde shee / and dryue awaye	733
who heals all sicknesses,	Seeknesses all / of what kynde or nature They weren / and hem hele wel & cure,	735

(106)

he bids his leprous brother go with him to her,	Right thus vn-to his brothir seide he tho :	736
	“ To this holy womman / best is þat we, As faste as we may make vs reedy, go, Syn, so good / and so gracious is shee, þat of thy lepre / shee may cure thee.”	740
and get cured.	This was assentid / they hem haaste & hye In what they may / vn-to þat Nonnerie.	742

(107)

The Abbess and Convent meet the Emperor,	Knownen vn-to thabbesse & hir Couent	743
	How þat the Emperour / was ny comyng, Ageyn him in procession / arn they went, Hir seruice ful deuoutly syngyng, And dide al / þat was to swich cas longyng.	747
	And whan he in thabbeye was alight, Thus of thabbesse / he axid anon right :	749

(108)

[leaf 44, back]	“ Is ther any swich womman in this hous, As folkes hele can of hir seeknesse ? Men seyn, heere is a womman merueillous : Shal it be fownden soo ” / he seide, “ Abbess ? ”	750
and tell him they have a Woman of unequald power.	¶ And shee answerde / “ Sire, in soothfastnesse A good womman / dwellynge is / with vs heere, Which in vertu / we knowen noon hir peere.”	754 756

(109)

She dide hir come anoon / to his presence ;	757	The Emperess comes veild to the Emperor,
But with hir veil / hir face hid had shee,		
To been vnknowe / and dide him reuerence,		
As longid vn-to his hy Dignitee.		
And right as blyue / of hire axid he,	761	
" Can yee my brothir / of his maladie		
Of leepre, cure, and of meselrie ?	763	

(110)

" If þat yee can / now tell on, y yow preye,	764	
ffor your labour / ful wel qwyte wole y."		
But or þat ahee / aght wolde answer & seye,		
She caste hir look about[en] / and there sy		sees his leprous brother,
The Emperoures brothir stande by,	768	
þat leepre was / and eek' tho othir three		
þat had hir doon so greet aduersitee,	770	

(111)

That is to seyn / the knyght, thief, and shipman ;	771	[leaf 46] and her other three betrayars,
And thanne shee spak' / and seide in this wyse :		
" Sire / noon þat is heere, y cure can ;		and says she cannot cure them
I may nat take vp-on me þat empyrse—		
Ther-to may nat my konnyng souffyse—	775	
But if þat they / an open shrifte make		unless they con- fess their sins.
Of hire offenses dirke & synnes blake."	777	

(112)

¶ To his brothir / than spak' this Emperour :	778	The Emperor bids his brother con- fess his guilt.
" Among all vs / thee openly confesse ;		
Spare nat to deskeuere thyn errour,		
Syn þat thow ther-by / maist, of thy seeknesse		
Cured be / telle out al thy wikkidnesse ;	782	
Be nat abasshit / it manly is to synne,		¹ ¶ humanum est peccare, &c ¹
But feendly is / longe lye ther-ynne."	784	

¹ Later, above this: Iohn.

(113)

The Brother makes a sham confession,	ffor forme / a confessiō made he,	785
	Swich as it was / but how the Emperice, his lordes wyf / he heeng vp-on a tree	
but not of his sin against the Emperess.	By hire heer / tolde he nat / þat cursid vice,	
	ffor torne it sholde him / in-to preiudice	789
	And harm also / deskeuere kepte he noght, Yit aftirward / he ther-to was y-broght.	791

(114)

[leaf 45, back]	Whan þat his lewde shrifte was y-do,	792
	"Sire," quod shee / "laboure y sholde in veyn, If aght I leide / your brothir vn-to,	
She says he has not made full shrift.	ffor he maad haath / noon hool[e] shrifte, ne pleyn."	
	¶ This Emperour vn-to him spak' ageyn :	796
	"Woost thou nat weel / thou art a foul mesel ?	
	Telle out, let see / shryue thee cleene and wel,	798

(115)

The Brother then says he can't do it unless the Em- peror 'll forgive him.	"Or truste me weel / for þat encheson	799
	Thow voide shalt / out of my compaignie."	
	¶ "O Lord" he seide / "but if your pardon	
	Yee me promette / I dar nat specifie	
	O word of my gilt / I yow mercy crye."	803
	¶ Quod themperour / "what, haast thou agilt me ?"	
	¶ "Certes, right greuously / my lord," seide he.	805

(116)

The Emperor pro- mises to pardon him.	¶ "Now," quod the Emperour / "and haast thou so ?"	
	And of the Emperice / he thoghte nat,	807
	But weenyng / shee many a day ago,	
	Deed had been / seide / "what offense is that ?	
	Be nat aferd / but tell on plein & plat,	810
	ffor what so þat it be / y foryeue al ;	
	Truste wel / þat y seye, y holde shal" ¹	812

¹ Later scribble at foot, c. 1500, 'per me wylliam . . per me me wylliam Hopkins.'

(117)

- Ther-with, al was his brothir herted weel : 813 [leaf 46]
 Al how the Emperice had he betrayed,
 Before hem aH / he tolde out euerydeel ;
 Where-of / the Emperour was sore affrayed.
 His brothres reward / had nat been vnpayed, 817
 Nad promesse of the Emperour him bownde
 To pardoun / for which wo was him þat stownde ; 819

The Emperor's
brother confesses
his sin against the
Empress.

(118)

- Almoost he was / out of him self certeyn ;— 820
 So seith the book / and þat was no meruail.
 What lord is þat / if swich a word sodeyn
 To him cam of his wyf / whos gouernail
 Was hires lyk / but ny to sholde him fail 824
 his wit and his good disposicion
 ffor the sodeyn woful impression? 826

The Emperor is
almost beside
himself,

(119)

- ffor falle anon sholde in his remembrance 827
 Hir vertuous manere and wommanhede,
 hir beautee / shap / good cheere & daliance :
 Al this considered / withouten drede,
 Out of the weye of ioie / him wolde lede, 831
 The mis / of so vertuous a persone ;
 And yit nat for þat encheson allone? 833

remembering his
wife's virtue and
beauty,

(120)

- But also the vnkyndely treson 834
 Of his brothir / þat him to him had qwit
 So falsely / me thynkith by reson
 Stike right ny / vn-to his herte oghte it,
 And causen him / ful many an heuy fit ; 838
 But nathelees / wit axith, & prudence,
 Al thyng þat fallith / take in pacience. 840

[leaf 46, back]
and his brother's
unnatural treason.

¹ Later scribble in margin : 'spindlye (?) Rslm . . Rv 2 (?) be that . . he that
my . . he that in youth no verke will vse, all . . thomas . . dden . . god . . y, d,
d d M c. c' . . d . . d . . ij daye . And . . iij D . . hud . . h . . m, m.'

(121)

	¶ Now to my purpos / themperour tho spak'	841
	To his brothir / and thus he to him seide :	
The Emperor curses his brother,	" Thow cursid wrecche / thow demoniak' ! þat our lord god / which for vs alle deide,	
	The strook of his vengeance / vp-on thee leide,	845
	No wondir is / had y this beforñ wist,	
and said he'd	Thy body sholde han the grownd swept & kist ;	847

(122)

punish him sharply if he hadn't promist to forgive him.	" And ther-to eek / as sharp[e] punisshement As þat dyuyse ther kowde any wight, Thow sholdest han y-preeued by the sent ; But holde wole y / þat y thee haue hight."	848
Then the Knight	¶ And thanne confesse him / began the knyght þat the Erles doghtir slow / "as shee sleep,"— lo, thus he seide / takith now good keep ¹ —	852 854

(123)

[leaf 47]	¶ " Notice noon," seide he, " ne knowlechyng haue y of þat lady / ne who it is, But as my lord the Erl rood on huntynge In a foreste ones / wel woot y this, A fair lady he fond hangynge Iwis On a tree by hire heer / and of pitee And routhe meeued / hire adoun took' he,	855 859 861
confesses that his lord, the Earl, found a lady hanging by her hair,		

(124)

	" And to his Castel / with him hire he ladde, And the charge / bytook' to hire, and cure, To keepe a yong Doghtir / which þat he hadde, Hire to teche and to lerne norture. But to me shoop ther / a mis-auenture ; I bisyed me / to haue by hire leyn ; And al my labour / ydil was and veyn.	862 866 868
and put her in charge of his daughter.		
The Knight tried to lie with her.		

¹ Later, at foot : 'Thomas Onslor . . . moste.'

(125)

- " ffor any craft / þat euere kowde y do, 869 And when she
 To me shee wolde assente by no way ; refused,
 I kowde in no wyse / brynge hire ther-to ;
 hire answers was euere oon / & that was 'nay,'
 Which was nothyng / vn-to my lust and pay ; 873
 Wherefore meued was y, nat a lyte,
 But ful greetly / and hire y thoghþe qwyte,¹ 875

(126)

- " And in hir bed / as shee lay on a nyght, 876 [leaf 47, back]
 This yonge maide / and shee sleepynge faste,
 I kilde the chyld / and ther-with, foorth-right
 The bloody knyf / in-to the hand y thraste
 Of the lady / for þat men sholde caste 880
 And suppose / how þat no wight but shee
 Mighte of this slagþre and murdre guilty be, 882

(127)

- " And thens / my lord maade hire voyde anoon ; 883 and she was sent
 But wher shee becam / am y nat priuee ;² away.
 God woot / þat knowleche / haue y ther-of noon."
 ¶ Than spak' the thief / " y noot whom meene yee, 887 Then the Thief-
 But a lady of excellent beautes servant confesses
 Allone and soul / cam by the way rydynge,
 Whan for my gilt / y led was to hangynge ; 889

(128)

- " And whan þat this lady benigne & good, 890 how the Lady
 Had hir look toward me cast, and espyed
 ffrom a-fer / in what mescheef þat y stood,
 hire herte anoon / of pitee was applyed,
 Me to socoure and helpe / and hath hire hyed 894
 Vn-to the place / wher deed sholde y be,
 And payde for my lyf / and saued me ; 896 rescued him
 from death.

¹ In margin, by a later hand, c. 1500 :

'of all good thinges the worlde brought forth,
 a faithfull frende ys thinge moste worthe' . . .

'gouernor.' (later still) 'shall the thynges the world brought
 forth' . . . 'y' . . . 'H. Pershe' (1) ² 'lay' (later, at side).

(129)

[leaf 48]	" And aftirward, I, as a fals traitour	897
	Ageyn hir gentillesse and hy bontee,	
And he betrayd her to a lecherous Shipman, who saild off with her.	To a shipman / which was a foul lecchour,	
	Betrayed hire / and to his Contree	
	him shoop lede hire / this man delauce,	901
	And fer in-to the See y saw hem sailt ;	
	But what fil aftir / woot y nat sanz failt."	903

(130)

The Shipman confesses that he did so,	¶ " Swich a fair lady, certein y receyued	904
	In-to my ship" / seide the Shipman tho,	
	" And thoghte haue hire deffoulid & deceyued	
	Amiddes the See / but shee preide so	
	To god / þat my deayr was y put fro ;	908
	I mighte nat acheeue my purpoos.	
but a storm	Whan shee had preid / an hidous storm aroos,	910

(131)

	" And shortly / of this for to speke and telle,	911
	The wynd ful sore / in the sail bleew & haf,	
	And the wawes began to bolne & swelle,	
clawe his ship,	And our taklynge brast / and the ship claf	
	In two / of seurtee loste y ny the staf ;	915
	Vndir the watir / wenten euerychone ;	
and he alone	My self except / knowe I no sauf persone.	917

(132)

[leaf 48, back]	" By a bord of the ship, heeld y me faste ;	918
	And as þat my fortune shoop þat tyde,	
escaped to land.	The wawes me sauf vp-on the land caste."	
	¶ This Emperice list no lengere hyde	
The Emperice says the four guilty men are now clean shriven.	What þat shee was / but spak / and sumdel cryde	922
	¹ On hy / and to hem seide in this maneere :	
	" Now been yee cleene shryuen / freendes deere ;	924

¹ In margin, later : 'Iohn bo . . b b.'

(133)

"Now shul yee all haue of me medecyne."	925	
Shee dide hire art / & helid euery wight		The Emperess then cures the 4 offenders,
Of his seeknesse / & voidid al his pyne ;		
And from hire heed / shee hath hir veil y-plight,		and lifts her veil.
And hem hir face shewid anoon right.	929	
And as swythe / as the Emperour hir sy,		The Emperour sees she's his wife,
pat shee his wyf was / kneew he verrailly ;	931	

(134)

And withoute delay / to hire he sterte,	932	
And hire embraced in his armes tweyne,		
And kiste hire often / with vnfeyned herte ;		kisses her, and weeps for joy.
But fro weepyng / he kowde him nat restreigne,		
Thogh it nat causid were of greef & payne,	936	
But of the inward ioie which pat stownde		
He took, by-cause he had his wyfe y-fownde.	938	

(135)

¶ O / many a wrecche is in this lond, y weene /	939	[leaf 40]
pat thogh his wyf lengere had been him fro,		(Many a wretch now would be sorry to find his wife again.)
No kus / but if it had been of the spleene,		
Shee sholde han had / & forthermore also,		
fyndyng of hire / had been to him but wo,	943	
for him wolde han thoght pat swich a fyndyng,		
To los sholde han him torned, and harmyng.	945	

(136)

No force of pat / my tale I now thus eende :	946	
Hoom vn-to his Paleys this Emperour		The Emperour took his wife home, and they liyd happily till they died.
And his good lady themperice weende,		
And lyueden in ioie and by honour		
Til pat the tyme of deeth cam, and his hour,	950	
Which pat no wight eschue may, ne flee ;		
And whan god list / also dye shul we.	952	

Explicit fabula de quadam Imperatrice Romana.

(1)

My friend came	M y freend, aftir, I trowe, a wike or two	1
	That this tale endid was / hoom to me cam,	
	And seide / "Thomas / hastow almoost do!	
	To see thy werk' / hidir comen y am."	
	My tale anoon y fette / and he it nam	5
and lookt thro' this tale,	In-to his hand / and it al ouersy ;	
	And aftirward / he seide thus therby :	7

(2)

[leaf 49, back]	¶ "Thomas, it is wel vn-to my lykyng ;	8
and then askt me	But is ther aght þat thow purposist seye	
	More on this tale?" ¶ "nay, my freend / no thyng."	
	"Thomas / heere is a greet substance aweye :	
where the Mora- lizing was.	Where is the moralizynge / y yow preye,	12
	Bycome heere-of / was ther noon in the book'	
	Out of the which / þat thow this tale took'?"	14

(3)

I'd never seen one.	¶ "No certes, freend / ther-in ne was ther noon."	15
	"Sikirly, Thomas / there-of I meruaiñ ;	
So my friend went home,	Hoom wole y walke / and retourne anoon ;	
	Nat spare wole y / for so smal trauaiñ,	
	And looke in my book' / there y shal nat faiñ	19
	To fynde it / of þat tale it is parcel,	
	ffor y seen haue it ofte / & knowe it wel."	21

(4)

fetcht it, and left it with me.	He cam ther-with / and it vn-to me redde,	22
	Leuyng it with me / & hoom wente ageyn ;	
	And to this moralyzynge I me spedde,	
And I at once Englisht it in prose.	In prose wrytynge it / hoomly and pleyn,	
	ffor he conseillid me / do so / certeyn ;	26
	And lo / in this wyse and maneere it seith,	
	Which to þat tale is good be knyht, in feith :	28

¶ *Incipit moralizacio.*

[leaf 50]

This Emperour þat y spak' of aboue / is our lord Ihesu
 Cryst / his wyf / is the soule; Themperoures
 brothir is man / to whom god committed and bytook'
 the cure and the charge of his Empire / þat is to seyn,
 of his body / & nathelees principally of the soule / but
 the wrecchid flessĥ ful often sythe stireth and excitith
 the soule vn-to synne / but the soule þat entierly loueth
 god abouen alle thynges / makith euere resistance vn-to
 synne / and takith his mightes & powers / þat is to
 seye, reson / wil / intellect and conscience, & makith
 swich inobedient flessĥ to the spirit, to been enprisoned
 in the prison of penance / til it obeye in aĥ thynges to
 reson. ¶ Themperour, þat is to seye, Cryst, is to come
 to the synnere / & thanne the flessĥ cryeth, axynge
 grace / and as often as he hath mercy / he hath hope /
 & for trust & hope of mercy / the rathere wole he synne.
 ¶ Ageyn swiche folk spekith holy scripture in this
 wyse: ¶ "Accursid is or be þat man þat synneth in
 hope" / to which the soule is often sythe enclyned /
 shee letith the flessĥ goon out of the prison of penance /
 shee wasshith & pougith the flessĥ of the ¹filthes of
 synne / clothyng it with goode vertues, & makynge it
 ascende / and worthe vp-on the steede of charitee / to
 ryde in good wirkes and deedes / þat it may meete with
 god in the holy day of Estren / but alas and wele-
 away / often sythe the synnere offendith and trespasseth
 by the way in þat holy tyme / where-of the hert rysith /
 þat is to seyn, Delectacion of synne / and aĥ the wittes
 rennen aftir synne / and the howndes / þat is to seyn,
 the wikkid thoghĥtes, alway berken, & maken swich
 instigacioĥ / þat man, þat is to seyn, the flessĥ and the
 soule, been to-gidere left with-outen any vertu / and

The Emperor is
 Christ; his
 brother, man;
 the Empire,
 man's body and
 soul.

The soul resists
 the flesh.

The flesh cries
 for mercy,

and then sins
 again.

¶ *Maledictus
 homo qui peccat
 in spe.*

[¹ leaf 50, back]

The hounds are
 wicked thoughts.

[¹ leaf 52, back]The soul can't be
seen by Christ
till all the senses
are shriven.

wherthurgh all the wittes by whiche the soule vexed
was, and troubled, been infect w^{ith} dyuerse seeknesses /
as ye / by the concupiscence of yen / heerynge / by
detraccion, ¹and so foorth / wherfore the soule may nat
openly be seen of Cryst, hir spowse / til þat all the
wittes be confessed openly / and thanne doutelees the
soule may be led to the ioie of paradys, to which he vs
brynge, þat starf for our redempcion, amen.

¶ Explicit moralizatio,

XXIII.

& incipit ars btillissima sciendi mori ..

Learn to Die.

*Cum omnes homines naturaliter scire de-
siderant & c' ..*

(1)

Since all men
shalt knowe,

Syn alle men naturally desyre 1
To konne / o. eterne sapience,
O vniuersel Prince / Lord & Syre,
Auctour of nature / in whos excellence
Been hid alle the trezors of science, 5
Makere of al / and þat al seest & woost,

I ask Thee, Lord,

This axe y thee / thow lord of mightes moost, 7

(2)

to open Thy
treasure of
wisdom to me.

Thy tresor of wisdam / & the konnynge 8
Of seintes / opne thow to me, y preye,
þat y ther-of / may haue a knowlechyng;
Enforme eek me / and vn-to me by-wreye—
Syn thow of al science berst the keye— 12
Sotil matires right¹ profownde & greete,
Of whiche / y feruently desire trete. 14

(3)

[leaf 53]

¶ "O sone myn / sauoure nat so hye, ¶ Sapientia. 15
But drede / herkne / and y shal teche thee
Thyng þat shal to thy soule fructifie;

¹ Sotile matres A (Ashburnham MS).

A chosen yifte shalt¹ thow haue of me ;
 My lore / eternal lyf shal to thee be,
 The dreede of god / which the begynnynge is
 Of wisdam / shalt thow lerne² / & it is this :

19 Wisdom says
 ¶ *Inicium sapientie timor domini.*
 the fear of God is
 the beginning of
 wisdom. (Pa.
 xvi. 10.)

(4)

“ Now herkne a doctrine substancial,
 ¶ first, how Lerne Dye / telle wole y ;
 ¶ The .ij.^{de} how þat a man lyue shal ;
 ¶ The .iij.^{de} how a man sacramentally
 Receyue me shal / wel and worthily ;
 ¶ The .iiij.^{de} how with an herte cleene & pure
 That a man loue me shal and honure.”

22 She'll teach,
 1. how to learn to
 die ;
 2. how to live ;
 3. how to receive
 Wisdom ;
 4. how to love
 her.

(5)

¶ “ Tho thynges .iiij.^{de} good lord, haue y euere ¶ *Discipulus*
 Desired for to knowe / and hem to leere ;
 Vn-to myn herte ther is nothyng leuere ;
 A bettir thyng / can y nat wisschen heere ;
 But tellith me this / this fayn wolde y heere
 What may profyite the lore of dyyng, ¶ *Ad quid prodest hac doctrina &c.*
 Syn deeth noon hauynge is / but a pruyngye ?

30
 33
 35

(6)

“ ffor shee, man reueth of lyf the swetnesse.”

36 [leaf 53, back]

¶ “ Sone, the art to lerne for to dye
 Is to the soule an excellent swetnesse,
 To which y rede / thow thyn herte applie ;
 Ther is noon art / þat man can specifie
 So profitable / ne worthy to be
 Preferred artes all / as þat is shee.

¶ *Sapientia*
 1. The art to learn
 how to die
 40
 is better than all
 other arts.
 42

(7)

“ To wite and knowe / þat man is mortel,
 It is commune / vn-to folkes alle ;
 þat man shal nat lyue ay heer / woot he wel ;
 No trust at al / may in his herte falle,
 That he eschape or flee may dethes galle,

43
 47

¹ shalt A, om. D.

² leere A.

But fewe þat can die / shalt thou seen ;
It is the yifte of god / best þat may been. 49

(8)

It is to have heart
and soul ready
when death
comes.

“To lerne for to die / is to han ay 50
Bothe herte and soule / redy hens to go,
That whan deeth cometh / for to cacche hir pray,
Man rype be / the lyf to twynne fro,
And hire to take / and receyue also 54
As he that the comynge of his felawe
Desirith / and is ther-of¹ glad & fawe. 56

(9)

[leaf 54]

Many take no
thought of Death,

“But more harm is / ful many oon shalt thou fynde,
þat ageyn deeth / maken no purueance ; 58
Hem lothen / deeth for to haue in hir mynde ;
þat thoght / they holden thoght of encombrance ;
worldly swetnesse / sleeth swich remembrance ; 61
And syn to die / nat lerned han they,
ffro the world twynne / they wolde in no way. 63

(10)

and when they
die, they go to
Hell.

“They mochil of hir tyme / han despended 64
In synne / and for thy / whan, vnwaarly, deeth
Vp-on hem fallith / and they nat amendid,
And shal from hem byreue wynd and breeth,
ffor shee vnreedy fynt hem / whan shee sleeth / 68
To helle goon tho soules miserable,
There to dwelle in peyne perdurable. 70

(11)

Forsake your
sins at once!

“Deeth wolde han ofte a brydil put on thee,
And thee with hire / led away shee wolde,
Nadde the hand of goddes mercy be.
Thow art ful² mochil / vn-to þat lord holde,
þat, for thou wrappid were in synnes olde, 75
he spared thee / thy synnes now forsake,
And vn-to my doctrine / thou thee take! 77

¹ ther-of is A.

² right A.

(12)

"More to thee profyte shal my lore	78	[leaf 54, back]
Than chosen gold / or the bookes echone		Wisdom bids her
Of Philosophres / and for þat the more		Disciple
Feruently / sholde it stire thy persone		
Vndir sensible ensaumples thee to one	82	
To god / and thee the better for to thewe,		
The misterie of my lore / y shal the shewe. ¹	84	

(13)

"Beholde now ² the liknesse and figure	85	suppose a dying
Of a man dyyng and talkyng with thee."		man talks to him,
¶ The disciple, of þat speche took ³ good cure,		
And in his conceit / bysily sought he,		
And ther-with-al / considere he gan, & see	89	
In him self put / the figure & liknesse		
Of a yong man of excellent fairnesse,	91	

(14)

Whom death so ny ransakid had, & sought,	92	
þat he withynne a while sholde dye.		
And for his soules helthe / had he right noght		a man who is not
disposid / al vnree dyngs to hye		ready for death.
Was he / and therfore he began to crye	96	
With lamentable vois / in this manere,		
þat sorwe and pitee greet / was it to heere : ³	98	

(15)

¶ "Environd han me, dethes waymentynges,	¶ Circumdede-	[leaf 55]
Sorwes of helle han compaced me ;	runst me gemit-	
Allas, eternal ⁴ god ! .o. kyng of kynges,	tus mortis, &c'	'The pains of
Wher-to was y born / in this world to be ;	* eterne	Hell compass me.
O. alas / why in my natiuitee		

103

¹ In the Ashburnham MS the inside double-leaf of the next quire has been sewn up as the outside of the other, so that stanzas 19-24 here come before stanzas 13-18. In like wise, stanzas 25-30 here come in the Ashburnh. MS. after stanzas 31-36 here.

² In margin, later, † about 1500,

Before thou pretendst any evill in thy harte, } quod
Remember the end^e when thou shalt departe, } Carter.

- Nadde I periasshid ? o, the begynnynge
Of my lyf was with sorwe & with weepyng, 105
(16)
- “ And now myn ende comth / hens moot y go 106
With sorwe / waylynge and greet heuynesse.
O. deeth, thy mynde is full of bittir wo ;
Vn to an herte wont vn-to gladnesse,
And norissid in delicat swetnesse, 110
Horrible is thy presence / and ful greeuable
To him þat vong is / strong and prosperable. 112
(17)
- “ Litil wande y so soone to han deid : 113
O cruel deeth / thy comynge is sodeyn ;
fful vnwaar was y / of thy theefly breid ;
Thow haast as in awayt / vp-on me leyn ;
Thy comynge vn-to me / was¹ vncerteyn ; 117
Thow haast vp-on me stolen / and me bownde ;
Eschape y may nat now / my mortel wownde. 119
(18)
- [leaf 55, back] “ Thow me with thee drawist in yren cheynes, 120
As a man dampned / wont is to be drawe
To his torment / outrageous been my peynes.
A, now for sorwe / and fere of thee & awe,
With handes clight / y crye / and wolde fawe 124
Wite the place whidir for to flee ;
But swich oon / fynde can y noon / ne see.² 126
(19)
- “ I looke on euery syde bisyly, 127
But help is noon / help and confort been dede ;
A vois horrible of deeth / sownynge heere y,
þat seith me thus / which encessith my drede :
‘ Thow dye shalt / reson noon / ne kynrede, 131

¹ Thyn hour was vn-to me ful—A.

² A. goes on with st. 31, p. 186 : ‘ Or as an arwe shot out of a bowe,’ the leaf being misplaced.

ffrendshiþe / gold / ne noon othir richesse
May thee deliure / out of dethes duresse. 133

(20)

“Thyn eende is comen / comen is thyn eende, 134 My end is come.

It is decreed / ther is no resistence.’

lord god / shal y now die / and hennes weende?

Whethir not changed may be this sentence;

Cannot my sentence
be changed?

O. lord, may it nat put been¹ in suspense? ¹ be put A. 138

Shal y out of this world so soone go?

Allas / wole it noon othir be than so?² 140

(21)

“O deeth, o deeth, greet is thy crueltee! 141

[leaf 56]

Thyn office al to sodeynly doost thow.

Is ther no grace? lakkist thow pitee?

O Death, hast
thou no pity?

Spare my youthe / of age rype ynow 144

To dye / am y nat yit / spare me now!³ ³ D adds ‘ynow.’

How cruel þat thow art / on me nat kythe!

Take me nat out of this world so swythe!” 147

(22)

¶ Whan the disciple this complaynte had herd, 148

He thought al þat he spak / nas but folie,

And in this wyse / ⁴he hath⁴ him answerd: ⁴ hath vn to A.

The Disciple
answers the
dying man:

¶ “Thy wordes, freend / withouten any lye,

þat thow haast but sinal lerned / testifie; 152

Euene to all / is dethes iugement;

Thurgh-out the world / stretchith hir paiement. 154

(23)

“Deeth / fauorable is to no⁵ maner wight; ⁵ om. no A. 155 ‘Death has no

To all / hir self / shee delith equally;

Shee dredith hem nat / þat been of greet might,

Ne of the olde and yonge / hath no mercy;

mercy on old or
young.

² In margin, later, c. 1500:

Some desearve or they desyer / and yett they lacke
that they Requyre;
Some desyre or they desearve / and yett the[y] } quod
gayne whylle other starve, } Carter.

The ryche & poore folk eek certainly 159
 She seith / shee sparith right noon estate ;
 Al þat lyf berith / with hir chek is meet.¹ 161

(24)

[leaf 56, back] " Ful many a wight / in youthe takith shee, 162
 And many ²an othir eek² in middil age, ¹⁻² am she A.
 And some nat / til they right olde be :
 Wendist thou han been / at swich auantage
 þat shee nat durste / han paid thee thy wage, 166
 But oonly han thee spared & forborn,
 And the prophetes deid han heer-beorn ! " 168

It takes folk at
all ages.

Do you think you
only are to be
spared ?

(25)

¶ Than spak¹ thymage / answeyng in this wyse : 169
 " Soothly thou art an heuy confortour ;
 Thou vndirstandist me nat / as the wyse :
 They þat continued han in hir errour,
 Lyuyng in synne / vn-to hir dethes hour, 173
 Worthy be dampned for þat they han wrought ;
 And how ny deeth is / they ne dreede noght. 175

The supposed
dying man says

(26)

" Tho men ful blynde been, & bestial. 176
 Of þat shal folwe / aftir this lyf present,
 fforsighte / swiche folk¹ han noon / at al.
 I nat bewaille dethes iugement ;
 But this is al the cause of my torment ; 180
 The harm of vndisposid deeth / y weepe ;
 I am nat reedy / in the grownd to creepe, 182

he doesn't
lament Death's
judgment,
but his own
unpreparedness.

¹ At foot of leaf 56, later, c. 1500 :

The brwett of evill tonges / what woman can eschew !
 or who can let a fowle to wytt / the thinge that is vntrew :
 quod Carter //

In margin of leaf 56 :

Since of a womans breestes I was fostered /
 Dame Nature sayth / I sholde them Love / } quod
 Why shold any man / ther-wyth by offended / } Carter //
 In generally it is gevin from hym above /

(27)

- " I keepe¹ nat / þat y shal hennes twyne, ^{1 weepe A.} 183 [leaf 57]
 But of my dayes / I the harm bewaiht,
 ffrytles past / sauf with bitter fruyt of synne;
 I wroghte in hem nothyng / þat mighte auaiht
 To soules helthe / y dide no trauaiht 187
 To lyue wel / but leued to the staf
 Of worldly lustes / to hem y me gaf. 189

¹ I did nothing
for my soul's
health.

(28)

- " The way of trouthe y lefte / & drow to wronge; 190
 On me nat shoon the light of rightwisnesse;
 The sonne of intellect / nat in me spronge;
 y am weery² of my wroght wikkidnesse; ^{2 weery am A.} 194
 y walkid haue, weyes of hardnesse
 And of perdition / nat kowde y knowe
 The way of god / wikkid seed haue y sowe. 196

But I am weery
of ill-doing.

(29)

- " Allas, what hath pryde profytid me, 197
 Or what am y het / for riche richesse hepynge?
 All they as a shadwe passid be,
 And as a messenger faste rennyng,
 And also / as a ship þat is sayllyng
 In the wawes / & floodes of the See,
 Whos kerfe nat fownden is / whan past is shee. 203

Pride and riches
have past away

¶ Transierunt omnia illa
tamquam umbræ præteri-
ens, & tamquam nunci-
us cito percurrens, & tam-
quam nauis, &c.

(30)

- " Or as a brid / which in the eir þat fleeth,³ 204
 No preef⁴ fownde is / of the cours of his flight;
 No man espie can it / ne it seeth, ^{4 way A.}

[leaf 57, back]
like the course of
a bird in the air,

³ At top, in a later hand: "Post bellum auxilium: Ayde after the felde is alreedy faught." In margin: "fortune not favoring, thinges not withowt highe consell and wisdom enterprised, have a very vnlucky ende; and contrarie thinges donne temerously, yf she favor, have right prosperous chaunce / example, 'Sirenus persian, a Captain' / What I speeke lyethe in myne owen powre / but how so the thinges as I do, shall ende or be taken, standethe in the pleasur of fortune & y^e kinge."

Al loos the brydil of concupiscence,
And ageyn vertu / made y resistance.¹ 238

I gave reins to
my lust.

(35)

" My dayes I despente in vanitee ; 239
Noon heede y tooke of hem / but leet hem passe,
Nothyng considerynge hir precioustee,
But heeld my self free born as a wylde asse
Of thaftirclap / insighte had no man lasse ; 243
I ouer blynd was / y nat sy ne dredde,
With what wo / deeth wolde haaste me to bedde. 245

I held myself as
free as a wild ass.

(36)

" And now as fisshes been with hookes kaght, 246 [leaf 56, back]
And as þat briddes / been take in a snare,
Deth hath me hent / eschape may y naght ;
This vnwaar woful hour / me makith bare
Of my custumed ioie / and my welfare ; 250
The tyme is past / the tyme is goon for ay ;
No man renoue / or calle ageyn it may. 252

But now Death
has seised me.

(37)

" So short was not the² tyme / þat is goon, ²þat A. 253
But y, of goostly luces / & wynnyngeas,
Aughte³ haue in it purchaced many oon, ³ Mighte A.
Exceedynge in value / att eerthly thynges
Inconparably / but to his wynges 257
The tyme hath take him / & no purueance
There-in made I / my soule to auance. 259

I might have
bought spiritual
treasure, but
didn't.

(38)

" Allas, I, caytif / for angwissh & sorwe, 260
My teeres trikelen / by my cheekes down ;
No salt watir / me needith begge or borwe ;

Now I weep bitter
tears,

¹ In margin, in a later hand: "He lyveth so moche the easier, who to delightes was used neuer." At foot: "Quod caret alterna requie, durable non est.

What thing resteth not now & then amonge,
But still traveyleth, cannot endure longe."

Below, in another hand: "Be ytt knownen vnto all men by these presentes that I, Wylliam Wyllon[?]."

- Myn yen flowen now in greet foyesoun ;
 Allas / this is a sharp conclusioun, 264
- and mourn the
 time I've lost. Thogh y the tyme past / conpleyne & mourne ;
 ffor al my care / wole it nat retourne.¹ 266
- (39)
- [leaf 59] " O my lord god / how laach and negligent² 267
- Why did I put
 off amendment? Haue y been / why haue I put in delay
 And tarynge myn amendement?
 Wher-to haue y dissumuled / welaway
 Allas / so many a fair and gracious day 271
- Haue y lost / & arn³ from me goon & rounne, ² be A.
 bat mighte in hem / my soules helthe han wonne. 273
- (40)
- " Myn hertes woful waymentacions, 274
- Who can hem telle / who can hem expresse?
 Now fallen on me accusacions
 Wondirly thikke / of my wroght wikkidnesse.
 In fleshly lust / and ydil bysynesse, 278
- Leet y⁴ my dayes / dryue foorth and slippe, ⁴ I lost A.
 And nat was beten / with penances whippe. 280
- (41)
- " Why sette y so myn herte in Vanitee? 281
- O, why ne had y lerned for to die?
 Why was y nat ferd of goddes maugree?
 What eilid me / to bathe in swich folie?
 Why nadde reson / goten the maistrie 285
- Of me / why? for my spirit was rebel,
 And list nat vndirstonde / to do wel. 287
- ¹ At foot, in a later hand : " Love ys the occupacyon or busi-
 nes of ydell folkes, that have nothing eles to sette them selve
 on werke with-alle / Diogenes / Of wilde bestes, the backebyter
 is the worse ; Of tame bestes, the flaterer / Dio[genes]." At
 side : " Beneficium dando accepit, qui digno dedit,
 Himself, by geving, receyveth a benefiche.
 Who gevethe to a person worthie to have yt."
- ³ In margin, in a later hand : " Diogenes being asked what
 was the moost miserable thinge in this worlde, answered, ' An
 aged man in extreme pouertie / "' At foot : " Vertuus and good
 men, the lyvelye and true ymage of god / Diogenes."

(42)

- "O, alle yee þat heere been present, 288 [leaf 58, back]
 Yee þat floure in Youthes lusty grennesse, Ye who flourish
 And seen / how deeth / his bowe hath for me bent, in your youth,
 And tyme couenable han / to redresse
 þat youre vnruely youthes wantonnesse 292
 Offendid hath / considereth my miserie, consider my
 The stormy seson / folwith dayes merie. 294 misery.

(43)

- "Let me be your ensauple and your mirour, 295 Let me be a
 Lest ye slippe in-to my plyt miserable. warning to you.
 With God, sende of your youthe¹ the flour; ¹ dayes A.
 If yee me folwe / in-to peril semblable,
 Yee entre shuln / to god yee yow enable; 299
 In holy werkis your tyme occupie,
 And whyle it tyme is / vices mortifie. 301 Do holy work
 while you've
 time.

(44)

- ¶ "Allas, o youthe / how art thou fro me slipt! 302
 O. god eterne / y vn-to thee conpleyne ² wrecchidnesse / in
 which þat A.
 The wrecchidnesse / in whiche² y am clipt;
 Lost is my youthe / y smerte in euery veyne, My youth is lost.
 The gilt / þat wroght hath my synful careyne. 306
 O youthe / thy fresshenesse and iolitee
 Hatith thy soothes / be told vn-to³ thee.⁴ 308

(45)

- "No lust had y to doon as y was taght, 309 [leaf 60]
 Ther-of had y right⁵ greet desdeyn & hokir;⁶ ⁵ ful A.

⁴ At foot, in a later hand: "11. Socrates being asked * 'by what meanes a man myght optaine an onnest name & fame, 'To be,' quod he, 'A man in deede, as he desireth to be' /"

At side: "2. Socrates. Nothing owght to be desired of god in mennes prayers, but vnder this furme, and with thes wordes: 'Suche thinges as bee good for us,' withowte any further addycioun." . . . "Socrates: The best sauce in the worlde for meats is to be hungrye."

⁶ At top, in a later hand: "2. Hokir, Lothesome" . . .

At foot: "8. Socrates said that soche as hadde well broken themselves to vertuous living and temperate dyet, did perceyve

* 'asked' is crost thro', 'demaunded' is written over it.

- Myn yen flowen now in greet foyssoun ;
 Allas / this is a sharp conclusioun, 264
 and mourn the
 time I've lost. Thogh y the tyme past / conpleyne & mourne ;
 ffor al my care / wole it nat retourne.¹ 266
 (39)
 [leaf 59] " O my lord god / how laach and negligent² 267
 Why did I put
 off amendment? Hauē y been / why hauē I put in delay
 And tarynge myn amendement?
 Wher-to hauē y dissumuled / welaway
 Allas / so many a fair and gracious day 271
 Hauē y lost / & arn³ from me goon & rounne, ³ be A.
 bat mighte in hem / my soules helthe han wonne. 273
 (40)
 " Myn hertes woful waymentacions, 274
 Who can hem telle / who can hem expresse?
 Now fallen on me accusacions
 Wondirly thikke / of my wroght wikkidnesse.
 In fleshly lust / and ydill bysynesse, 278
 Leet y⁴ my dayes / dryue foorth and slippe, ⁴ I lost A.
 And nat was beten / with penances whippe. 280
 (41)
 " Why sette y so myn herte in Vanitee? 281
 Why didn't I
 learn to die? O, why ne had y lerned for to die?
 Why was y nat ferd of goddes maugree?
 What eilid me / to bathe in swich folie?
 Why nadde reson / goten the maistrie 285
 Of me / why? for my spirit was rebel,
 And list nat vnderstonde / to do wel 287
¹ At foot, in a later hand: "Love occupacyon or busi-
 nes of ydell folkes, that have nothi sette them selve
 on werke with-alle / Diogenes / Of thes, the hackebyter
 is the worse; Of tame bestes, Dio[genes]." At
 side: "Beneficium dando accipit." "Beneficium
 Himself, by geving, beneficium
 Who gevethe to a to have yt."
² In margin, in a later hand: "Diogenes being asked what
 was the moost miserable thing in this worlde, answered, 'A
 man in extreme penury.' At the same time he said: 'Vertue and
 men, the lyvelye an' Diogenes."

(42)

- "O, alle yee þat heere been present, 288 [leaf 80, back]
 Yee þat floure in Youthes lusty grennesse, Ye who flourish
 And seen / how deeth / his bowe hath for me bent, in your youth,
 And tyme couenable han / to redresse
 þat youre vnruely youthes wantonnesse 292
 Offendid hath / considereth my miserie, consider my
 The stormy seson / folwith dayes merie. 294 misery.

(43)

- "Let me be your ensauple and your mirour, 295 Let me be a
 Lest ye slippe in-to my plyt miserable. warning to you.
 With God, despende of your youthe¹ the flour; ¹ dayes A.
 If yee me folwe / in-to peril samblable,
 Yee entre shuln / to god yee yow enable; 299
 In holy wirkes your tyme occupie,
 And whyle it tyme is / vices mortifie. 301 Do holy work
 while you've
 time.

(44)

- ¶ "Allas, o youthe / how art thou fro me slipt! 302
 O. god eterne / y vn-to thee conpleyne ² wrecchidnesse / in
 The wrecchidnesse / in whiche² y am clipt; which þat A.
 Lost is my youthe / y smerte in euery veyne, My youth is lost.
 The gilt / þat wroght hath my synful careyne. 306
 O youthe / thy fresshenesse and iolitee
 Hatith thy soothes / be told vn-to³ thee.⁴ 308 ³ to be told to A.

(45)

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 Ther-of had y right⁵ greet desdeyn & hokir; ⁶ ful A.

⁴ At foot, in a later hand: "11. Socrates being asked * 'by what meanes a man myght obtaine an onnest name & fame, 'To be,' quod he, 'A man in deede, as he desireth to be' /"

At side: "2. Socrates. Nothing owght to be desired of god in mennes praye
 'Suche thinge' for this furme, and with thes wordes:
 for us,' withowte any further addy-
 a best sauce in the worlde for meats

Hokir, Lothesome' . . .

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 mperate dyet, did perceyve
 ded' is written over it.

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 Allas / this is a sharp conclusioun, 264
 and mourn the
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 Why nadde reson / gotten the maistrie 285
 Of me / why? for my spirit was rebel,
 And list nat vndirstonde / to do wel. 287
¹ At foot, in a later hand : " Love ys the occupacyon or busi-
 nes of ydell folkes, that have nothing eles to sette them selve
 on werke with-alle / Diogenes / Of wilde bestes, the backebyter
 is the worse ; Of tame bestes, the flaterer / Dio[genes]. " At
 side : " Beneficium dando accepit, qui digno dedit,
 Himself, by geving, receyveth a benefiche.
 Who gevethe to a person worthie to have yt."
² In margin, in a later hand : " Diogenes being asked what
 was the moost miserable thinge in this worlde, answered, ' An
 aged man in extreme pouertie / ' " At foot : " Vertuus and good
 men, the lyvelye and true ymage of god / Diogenes."

(42)

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 Yee þat floure in Youthes lusty grennesse,
 And seen / how deeth / his bowe hath for me bent,
 And tyme couenable han / to redresse
 þat youre vnruely youthes wantonnesse 292
 Offendid hath / considereth my miserie,
 The stormy seson / folwith dayes merie. 294

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in your youth,consider my
misery.

(43)

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 Lest ye slippe in-to my plyt miserable.
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Do holy work
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At foot: "8. Socrates said that soche as hadde well broken themselves to vertuous living and temperate dyet, did perceyve

* 'asked' is crost thro', 'demaunded' is written over it.

Good counsel
I cared no more
for than an old
boote.

Whan men conseilid wel / y herde it naght :
Nat so moche / as by an old boote or cokir
Sette y ther-by / in-to myn hertes lokir 313
Entre mighte / noon holsum disciplyne ;
No wil had y / to good conseil enclyne. 315

(46)

Now I'm in the
snare of Death.

"Lord god, now / in a deep dych am y fall ; 316
In-to the snare of deeth / entred am y ;
Bet had it been / than thus had it¹ befall, ¹ it had thus A.
Neuere han be born of my modres body,
But there-in han perissid vtirly, 320
ffor y despente in pryde and in bobance
The tyme grantid² me / to do penance." ² lent to A. 322

(47)

The Disciple says

¶ To which answerde the disciple tho : 323
"Lo / we die alle / and as watir we slyde ¶ Ecce, omnes
In-to the eerthe / which pat neuere mo [¶] morimur, &
Retourne shal / but on a sikir syde [¶] quasi aque
We standen alle / for god nat wole hyde 327 ^{dilabimur in}
His mercy fro man / who-so list it craue, ^{terram &c}
Be repentant / and mercy axe & haue. 329

' Repent; ask
mercy, and you'll
have it.

(48)

[leaf 60, back]

"God haastith nat / the gilt of man to wreke, 330
But curteisly / abydith repentance. ³ shal seye and A.

Heere me now / what y shal to thee³ speke :

ffor pat thow hast offendid / do penance ; ¶ Age penitentiam
Torne vn-to god / with hertes obeissance ; ^{de transectis, &}
Axe him mercy / pat⁴ is al merciable, ^{conuertiens ad dom-}
^{inam.}

Turn to God,

And saued shalt thow been / it⁵ is no fable." ⁴ which A. ⁵ this A.

and be saved.

336

& take of the same, bothe moche more pleasure and lesse paynes,
then soche as, with all highe cure and diligence, did on every
syde make provision to have all thinges of pleasure."

At side : "Socrates. 14. As we do not put Images to making,
but onely to soche workemen of whome we se some noubmer of
Images well-favordly and minonly [!] made a-fore ; So sholde we
take vn[to] no persons ower frendship, but soche as we perfectly
know to have tried [!] themselves faythfull and cerviceable
frende to other a-fore, to other folkes."

(49)

¶ Thymage of deeth answerde anoon to þat :
 " How spekist thou, man / shal y me repente,
 Shal y me torne / o man, ne seest thou nat,
 Ne takist thou noon heede ne entente
 Of dethes angwissahe / þat me tormente
 And oppressen / so greuouly and sharpe
 That y not what to do / or thynke or carpe.

¶ Quis est
 hic sermo
 quem loquar-
 te 'debeo
 penitere;
 debeo me
 convertere?
 Nonne vides
 angustias ðe?

The supposed
 dying man says

341

'My anguish is
 so sharp, I know
 not what to do.

343

(50)

" As a partrich / þat with the hawk' is hent
 And streyned with his clees / so is agast
 þat his lyf ny from him is goon and wente:
 Right so / my wit is cleene fro me past,
 And in my mynde / is ther no thoght ne cast
 Othir than serche a way / how deeth eschape
 But y in veyn / ther-aftir looke and cape.¹

¶ Quemad-
 modum per-
 drix cum sub
 vnguibus
 aucipitis
 mori discer-
 penda com-
 primatur pre
 angustia
 moris, quo-
 dammodo
 exanimis
 redditur /
 sic ðe
 1 gape A.

My wits are gone.

(51)

" Nat wole it be / for deeth me doun oppressith; 351
 The twynnyng of my lyf / ful bittir is,
 þat hurtith me greuouly / and distressith;
 fful holsum had it be² / to me or this, 3 been A.
 Penance³ han doon / for þat y wroghte amis 355
 Whyles my tyme / was in his rypnesse,
 ffor þat had been / the way of sikirnesse; 357

[leaf 61]

Death crushes
 me.

(52)

" But he þat late / to penance him takith,
 Whethir he verrailly or feynnyngly
 Repente / he noot / vncertain it him makith.
 Wo is me / þat my lyf so synfully
 I ledde / and to correcte it / lachil y;
 Ageyn my soules helthe haue y werreied,
 þat for it haue no bettre purueied.

¶ Qui autem
 tarde penitentie
 se committit /
 dubius erit /
 quis necit
 verum vere vel
 fecte penitent.

Woe is me that I
 led a sinful life!

362

364

(53)

¶ " Allas, to longe hath be² the tarynge
 And the delay of my correccioñ!

¶ O longa
 nimis protra-
 ctio emenda-
 cionis mee /

Too long have I
 put off

² Altered to 'rePentance.' Penance A.

- A good purpos / withoute begynnynge, propositum
incipit sine
machinatione &c
 Good wil / withouten operacion,
 Good promesse / and noon execucion, 369
 smending. floorth dryue amendes / fro morwe to morwe,
 And neuere doon / þat causith al¹ my sorwe.² now A. 371
 (54)
- [leaf 61, back] "O morwe, morwe / thow haast me begit! 372
 O / whethir this miserie / nat excede
 Also, my gilt: Al worldly wrecchidnesse / alas, my gilt!
 Wel worthy is it / þat myn herte bleede, 375
 And with angwissh and wo / me³ fostre & feede. him A.
 See how my dayes att⁴ / am slipt me fro; my A.
 30 years have I lost. xxxth. year of myn age / a-way been go. 378
 (55)
- "ful wrecchidly, god woot / y hane⁵ hem lost, 379
 And al myn owne self / is it to wyte; hane I A.
 So good a piler / was y neuere, or post
 Vn-to my soule / as o day me delyte
 I never was vertuous for a day. In vertu / or aght wel to god me qwyte, 383
 As þat y mighte haue doon or oghte;
 By aght y woot / y neuere aftir þat soghte. 385
 (56)
- How I shall be shamed at Doomsday! "Lord god, how shamefully stande y shal 386
 At the doom beforn thee and seintes all,
 Where y shal arted be to rekne of al
 That y doon haue & left / whom shal y call
 To helpe me / o, how shal it befall? 390
 My torment and my wo / me haaste and hye,
 Hens for to / twynne / as blyue shal y dye.⁶ 392
- ² In margin, by a later hand:
 "So[crates] 21. No kinde of Labore is a thing of shame,
 But ydelnes evermore worthie of blame.
 So[crates] 27. What ys a-bove owre reche,
 We have no thing to do with all."
 At foot: "So[crates] 28. This silver plate, and riche araye
 Of purple hewe, dothe wonderous well
 For disguising in a stage playe;
 Owre lyff nedethe them not a dele /"
- ⁶ Later scribble in margin: "Thomas, Pardy, I sayd yt not . . . O longa nimis . . . P . . . Pr . . . r r r . . . prynm . . . nng . . . d . . . Thomas &c."

(57)

- "O now this hour / gretter¹ ioie & gladnesse 393 [leaf 62]
 I wolde haue of a litil orisoun ^{1 day more A.} I'd rather now
 By me seyde / with hertes deuout sadnesse, have said one
 As the angelyk^k salutacioun: prayer
 Than y wolde haue / of many a milioun 397 than own millions
 Of gold and siluer / foule haue y me born, of money.
 And synfully / þat sy nat this beform. 399

(58)

- "Whan y mighte haue it seen / than wolde y noght;
 How many houres haue y lost / þat neuere 401
 Retorne shuln / how mochil haue y wroght
 Ageyn my self / my lust was to perseuere I followd vice,
 In vicious lyf / & from it nat disseuere; 404 and left vertue.
 I lefte þat good was, & necessarie
 Vn-to my soule / and dide the contrarie. 406

(59)

- "More than was neede or expedient, 407
 Vn-to the help of many an othir wight I helpt others,
 Entendid y / y was ful inprudent; not myself.
 I tooke noon heede / to my self aright;
 By soules profyt / sette y nat but light; 411
 Whan tyme was / fynde kowde y no tyme,
 Me to correcte / of myn offense and cryme.² 413

(60)

- But now feele y / þat vn-to the gretnesse 414 [leaf 62, back]
 Of merites celestial / had been bet
 My wittes han kept / with soules clennesses, ¶ Vere nunc
 Than þat left / with herte corruptly set, cognoui quod
 And ageyn deedes vertuous y-whet / 418 ad magnitu-
 Helpe me mighte / any mannes preyere, dinem premi-
 Thogh .xxxⁱⁱ. yeer / he preid had for me heere. 420 orum plus
 michi contulisset
 sollicita custodia
 cordis &c

² At foot, in a later hand: "So[crates] 30. Who-so eatethe drie breade with pleasure, the same nedethe no meate to hit; and to whome no maner of drinke comethe a-misse, the same requireth none other cuppe but soche as ys redye in the waye."

(61)

¶ "O, herkneth now ; herkneth now alle yee 421
 þat heere been ; and seen my wrecchidnesse !
 The tyme as þat yee seen ; now faillith me ;
 I hoped my frendes 1
 to give me some
 of their good
 dedes,
 My frendes preide y ; þat they sum almesse 425
 Of thabundance of hir goostly richesse
 And wirkes goode / wolden to me dele
 In my greet neede / for my soules hele ; 427

(62)

¶ And ecke in releef and amendement 428
 but they said No. Of my giltes / but hire answer was ' nay ' ;
 They seiden, ' ther-to yeuen oure assent,
 Wole we nat in no maneere¹ way ^{1 manner of A.}
 Lest it vs and yow nat souffyse may.' 432
 I am destitute. On euery part / thus am y destitut ;
 ffynde can y no socour ne refut.² 434

(63)

[leaf 63] ¶ "O god benigne / o fadir merciable,³ 435
 O God, have
 mercy on me!
 Beholde and reewe vp-on thy pacient !
 To me, thyn handwerke / be thow socourable !
 þat y greetly haue erred and mis-went,
 Me wel remembrith this tyme present. 439
 Allas / why stood y in myn owne light
 So foule / o. lord, me now⁴ helpe of thy might ! 441
^{4 now me}

² At foot, in a later hand : "So[crates] 35. Seyence and con-nyng is the onely good thing of the world ; and contrarye- wyse, ignorance the onely evell thinge /"

³ In later hands, at top : "O god benigne, o fader merciable. . . Oratio."

At side : "Thomas hecker haue Red att Thys boke . so haue now haue [? MS. som] of my filos done . . Thomas hecker haue Red att This boke. soo haue nott, haue not, haue of of. Herro . . . of Repentance with any good deed /

So[crates] 38. The begynninge ys half of the wholle.

44. Cælum non animum mutat, qui trans mare currit.

Who runneth oversee ffrom place to place,
 Though he change aire, his minde is as yt was /"

(64)

- "How grete riches *spirituel* 442 I might have
 And heuenely tresors / had y been wys, gathered heuenly
 Mighte y han gadered / and nat dide a del. treasure, but
 O good lord god / o lord of paradys, didn't.
 ful leef to me now were / and of greet prys 446
 Of satisfaccioun / the leeste deede
 Right dereworthe / were it in this neede. 448

(65)

- "O / now the leeste crommes / þat ther fall 449 Now, I can get
 ffro the lordes bordes / and tables down, no crumb,
 Refresshe wolden me ful wel wit/-aH,
 But noon fynde y / of swich condicioun 453
 þat yeue me wole any porcioun.
 Y haue espyd / the frendshipe is ful streit
 Of this world / it is mirour of deceit. 455

(66)

- ¶ "Reewe eek on me, yee aH / and pitee haue ! 456 [leaf 68, back]
 And whyles your force and vigour may laste, Do you all, while
 And tyme han eeke / or yee be ny your graue, your strength
 In-to bernes of heuene gadereth faste laste, gather
 Tresors celestial / þat at the¹ laste ¹ alle A. 460 heavenly
 Yee may receyue / whan þat yee shul twynne treasure.
 ffrom hens / the blisse þat shal neuere blynne. 462

(67)

- "And beeth nat voide of vertu, ne empty, 463
 Whan þat the deeth / an othir day to yow
 Approche shal / as yee may see þat y
 Am voide of deedes vertuous right now."
 ¶ "freend," quod the disciple / "y see wel ynow 467 The Disciple
 Thy torment and thy greuous passioun,
 Of which / myn herte hath greet compassioun ; 469

(68)

- "And by almighty god / I thee coniure 470
 þat thow me yeue reed / how me to gye, ask for advice
 Lest þat heere-aftir / y,² par auenture, ² I heer aftir A.
 O 2

- how to avoid the
peril of death,
unprepared. In-to lyke peril / haaste may and hye,
Of vndisposid sodein deeth / and drye 474
The wo / which y considere / þat thee vexith,
wherthurgh / myn herte sore agrysid wexith."¹ 476
(69)
- [leaf 64]
The supposed
dying man says
'Repent,
¶ Than spak thymage / "the best purueance, 477
And wit is / han verray contricioun
In strengthe & hele / of the mis-gouernance
Of thy lyf / and plener confessioun
Make of thy gilt / and satisfaccioun, 481
And asseeth do / and all vices leue
þat thee mighten the blisse of heuene reue."² 483
(70)
- Behave as if you
were to die to-
day. " And so / with al thyn herte / it is³ the beste, 484
Keepe thee foorth / as þat thow this day right, ³ is it A.
Or to-morwe / or this wike atte⁴ fertheeste, ⁴ at the A.
Sholdist departe fro this worldes light,
And ther-with-al / enforce thow thy might, 488
As y shal seyn / in thyn herte to thyneke,
And thow shalt it nat reewe ne forthynke. 490
(71)
- Suppose your soul
has been 10 years
in Purgatory, " Caste in thyn herte / as now thy soule were 491
In purgatorie / and hadde pyned be
.x. yeer in a fourneys brennyng there,
And this oonly yeer were grantid thee
ffor thyn help / so beholde often & see 495
- and it is crying
to you Thy soule / in the flaumbes of fyr brennyng,
With a wrecchid vois / thus to thee cryngne :⁵ 497
- ¹ At foot, in a later hand : "Socrates exorted yung springalle, now and then earnestly to veu and behold themselves in a glasse, to the ende—yf theye were beautifull and of good featur of body—they shold beware to commyt nothing vncomly for the same / yf otherwise, that the defeautes of the body myght, with exerceyse or furniture of the wytte, & with honneste of maners & behaueur, be redoubted."
- ² That heuenes blisse mighten thee byreue A. At right side, later : 'Cumber youre' ; at left side, 'R B A.'
- ³ At foot, later : "Non uiuas ut edas ; sed edas, ut uiuere possis. Lyue not as a glutton, styll for to eate,
But fede to maintayne lyfe by thie meate."

(72)

¶ "Of alle freendes / thow, the derwortheſte, ¶ *O amicorum* [leaf 64, back]
 Do to thy wrecchid soule help and socour, *omnium dul-*
ciſſime, ſuo-
curre &c
 þat is al deſolat / purchace it reſte.
 See how y brenne / o, reewe on my langour ;
 Be for me ſo freendly a purueyour, 502
 þat in this hoot priſon / y no lengere to reſcue it.
 Tormentid be / lat it nat thus me dere ! 504

(73)

"The worldes fauour / cleene is fro me went ; 505
 fforſake y am / frendſhippe y can noon fynde ;
 Ther is no wight / þat to the indigent ¶ *Non eſt qui*
 Puttith his helply hand / ſlipt out of mynde *ſollicitatem* *ce-*
tendat ; non
eſt qui manus
 I am / in peynes ſharpe y walwe & wynde ; *porrigat* *genti &c* It is ſharpe pain.
 And of my wo / ther is no wight þat recchith ;
 Nat knowe y frendſhippe / or to whom it ſtrecchith. 511

(74)

"Men ſeeken thynges / þat to hem ſelf longe, ¶ *Singuli que*
 And me leuen in the flaumbes vengeable. *ſua ſunt /*
 O good freend / lat me nat thus pyne longe ! " *querunt, & me*
in vitricibus
 ¶ To which the diſciple, with cheere ſtable *flammis deſo-*
latam derelin-
quunt, &c Let it not ſuffer
 ſeide / "thy lore were profitable, 516 The Diſciple ap-
 Who-ſo it hadde by experience proves this,
 As thow haast / ther-to yeue y may credence ;¹ 518

(75)

"But thogh thy wordes ſharpe & ſtiryng ſeeme, 519 [leaf 65]
 To many a man / profyten they but lyte ;
 They looke a-part / and liſt take no yeeme
 Vn-to the ende / which mighte hem profyte.
 Yen they haan / and ſeen nat worth a myte ; 523
 but ſays that
 many men take
 no thought of
 their end,

¹ At foot, in a later hand, "Ouidius de Ponto :

While fortune the favoſethe, frendes thow haſt plentye ;
 The tyme being troublous, thow arte all alone :
 Thow ſeeſt Culvers haunt, howſes made white & daintye ;
 To the ruynus towre, almoost comethe none /
 In emptie barnes, where faylethe ſubſtaunce,
 Happenethe no frende in whome is aſſurance."

And eres han also / and may nat heere ;
They weenen longe for to lyuen heere. 525

(76)

" And for they, vndisposid deeth nat dreede,¹ 526

fioraighite at al / ne haan tho wrecches noon

Of the harm / which ther-of moot folwe neede,

They deemen stonde as sikir as a stoon ;

but they'll
have cause to
fear.

But weel y see / by thee / so moot y goon, 530

They shuln haan cause / it for to dreede & doute,

Or þat hir lyues light / be fully outa. 532

(77)

When sickness
comes to them,

" Whan dethes messenger comth / sharp seeknesse, 533

ffreendes and felawes hem haaste & hye,

The seeke man to conforte of his feblesse,

And al thyng þat good is / they prophecie ; 536

their friends say
they'll not die ;

They seyn / " thogh thou seeke in thy bed now lye,

Be nat agast / no dethes euel haast thou,

fior this / thou shalt eschape wel ynow."² 539

(78)

[leaf 63, back]

" Thus bodyes freendes been maad enemys 540

To the soule / for whyl seeknesse greueeth

The man continually / yit so vnwys

Is he / þat his enformours he wel leeueth ;

He hopith to been hool / and he mischeeueth 544

but they perish,
unprepared.

where as he wende han recouered be ;

Vndisposid to dye / sterueth he. 546

(79)

" Right so thyn herknars and thyn Auditours, 547

Tho þat greet trust han in mannes prudence,

Nat list hir peynes putte, or hir labours,

¹ Later scribble at side: "Hund . . nb . . . Thomas . . . Ch . . . Thomas." (For 'vndisposed deeth' see 200/590).

² At foot, in a later hand, "Martialis, lib. 12 :

Yf thou wilt eschew Bytter aduenture,
And avoyde the knowinge of a pensive harte,
Sette in no one persoun wholly this pleasure,
The lesse shalt thoue yoye, but lesse shalt thou smarte /"

To execute thyn holsum sentence ;
 Thow mightist as wel keepe thy silence ; 551
 They by thy wordes yeuen nat a leeke."

¶ To which, thymage thus answerde & speke :

(80)

"ffor thy, whan they in dethe net been hent,
 Whan sodein wrecchidnesse hem shal assail,
 Whan deeth, as tempest sharp & violent,

¶ Idcirco /
 cum laqueo
 mortis capti
 fuerint / cum
 irruerit re-
 pentina cala-
 mitas, & in-
 teritas quasi
 tempestas
 ingruerit &c

The dying man
 says that when

With woful trouble hem shal vexe & trouail,

They shuln crie aftir help / and ther-of fail,

558 they cry for help,
 they shan't get it.

ffor they in hate / sapience hadde,

And despyed my reed / & heeld it badde.¹ 560

(81)

"And right as now ther been but fewe fownde, 561

pat of my wordes conpunct wole hir lyf

Correcte / ne amende in no stownde,

Nat may to hem auaille my motyf,

But they / hir synnes vseen ay foorth ryf, 565

And han no lust / fro synnes hem withdrawe,

No more / than they neuere had herd my sawe: 567

(82)

"Right so for the malice of tyme / and lak 568

Of goostly loue / and for the iniquitee

Of the world / vertu gooth so faste a-bak,

pat fewe to the deeth disposid be

So weel / pat list this worlde's vanitee 572

Leue / and for desir of lyf / pat shal euere

Endure / coueiten hens to disseuere. 574

or give up the
 vanities of the
 world;

(83)

"But whan deeth on hem stelith with hir darte, 575

They vnreedy / wowndid in conscience,

Nat oonly goon hens / whan they hens departe /

so that when
 Death comes,

¹ At foot, in a later hand: "In tyme of prosperitie, a man shal not knowe his frendes, and in aduersitie an enemye will not be hidde." "Yf thow be ashamed to speeke evell, be more ashamed to doe the same."

they're carried
off by force.

But they with a manere of violence
Been hent away / so þat ful greet prudence 579
They wolde han hold it / han deid as a man
And nat as a beest / þat no reson can.¹ 581

(84)

[leaf 66, back]
The cause of
their neglect is

worldly pleasure,
and covetousness.

¶ " If of this commun peril, thenceson² 582
Thee lyke knowe / y wole it now expresse :
The desir of honours out of reson,
The body bathynge in worldly swetnesse,
Earthely loue / and to greet greedynesse 586
In muk-hepynge / blynden many an herte,
And causen men in-to tho perils sterre. 588

(85)

Learn by me to
avoid this end,

" If thow desire / the perils to flee 589
Of vndisposed deeth / my Conseil heere :
This heuy plyt / in which thow seest now me,
Reuolue ofte in thy mynde / & by me leere
ffor to be waar / if thow in this maneere 593
Wilt do / it shal be thy greet auantage,
And ese thee at thy laste passage ; 595

(86)

and find death
the beginning
of eternal blisse.

" It shal vn-to thee profyte in þat hour,
þat nat oonly dye it shal nat thee gaste,
But deeth / eek as eende of worldly labour,
And begynnynge of blisse / ay þat shal laste /
Abyde thow shalt / and desire faste 600
With al thyn herte / it to take & receyue,
And al worldly lust leye a-part & weyue. 602

¶ Ex ea nam-
que proficitur /
vt non solum
mori non ti-
meas / verum
etiam mortem
ad

¹ At foot, in a later hand :

"The good or evell fortune of all a mans lyffe,
Ys in the good or evell chowsinge his frend or his wiffe."

² At top, in a later hand : "Woman cam of syd of a doog
wherfor I besech the to . . ." At side : "W. Barnabe" . . . "To
the right worshipfull . . . master Hanna (?) . . He that hath"
. . . "Thomas Carter."

(87)

"Euery day haue of me deep remembrance¹; 603 [leaf 67]
Remember my
 In-to thyn herte / let my wordes synke;
 The sorwe and angwisha & greuous penance griuous panish-
ment,
 Which thow haast seen in me / considere / & thynke
 That of peril / thogh² art ful ny the brynke; 607
 Remembre on my doom / for swich shal thyn be;
 Myn yistirday / and this day vn-to thee. 609

(88)

"Looke vp-on me / & thynke on this nyght ay 610 and think how
 Whyles thow lyuest / o how good & blessid
 Art thow Arsenius³ / which pat alway
 This ilke hour haddest in thyn herte impressid,
 pat man / as in holy writ is witnessid, 614
 Which whan god comth and knockith at the yate,
 Wakyng him fynt / he blessid is algate; ¶ Beatus quem
cum venerit domi-
nus & pulsauerit
et

(89)

Blessid is he pat thanne founden is 617 blessid is he who
is ready to die,
 Reedy to passe / for he blissfully
 Departe shal / and truste right wel this,
 Thogh deeth assaith and vexe greuously
 The rightwys man⁴ / or slee him sodeynly, 621
 How so he dye / he shal go to⁵ pat place ¶ Quicumque
cum morte et
 Where-as confort is / refresshyng & grace. 623

(90)

He shal be poured cleene & purified, 624 [leaf 67, back]
 And disposid the glorie of god to see;
 Angels shuln keepe him / & he shal be gyed

¹ Latin scribble at top and sides: "wo . . woman, man sent woman . . Father and mother . . w . . sir Iohn) . . th . . the Father . . A Thowsand, a hundreth, fyve and fyfty / I Love / . . voman mast . . Vm . . women" . . "Pardye, I sayd yt not / nor never yt Intended /" . . "Barnard" (?) . . "Choos and Crave not, quod Carter."

² for "thow."

³ Arcenius A.

⁴ The good lyuer A.

⁵ he gooth vn-to A.

And led by Citeins of the hy Contree,
 And to the Court of heuene vp taken be; 628
 And of his spirit / shal be the issyng,
 In-to eternal blisse / the entrynge.¹ 630

(91)

But where shall
 my wretched
 soul go?

But alas / where shal my wrecchid goost ¶ Red heu me
 This nyght become / whidir shal it go? miserum &c
 What herbergh shal it haue / or in what coost
 Shal it arryue / who shal receyue it / who?
 O! what frendshipe / shal it haue tho? 635
 O soule abiect / desolat & forsake,
 Greet cause haast thow / for fere & wo to qwake. 637

(92)

I shed tears,

but in vain.

" Wherefore y, hauynge of my self pitee, 638
 Amonges heuy wordes / y out shede
 Teres / in greet habundance & plentee;
 But nat auailith me / it is no drede.
 Hens-foorth compleyne / weepe² & crye & grede, 642
 ffor in no wyse / changed it be may;
 Al man-kyndes fo / stoppid hath my way. 644

(93)

[leaf 68]

O God, I can
 speak no more:

" In hidles, in awayt as a Leoun³ 645
 He hath leyn / & my soule led hath he
 In-to the pit of deeth al deepe adoun.
 O my lord god / this sharp aduersitee,
 To stynte of speeche / now conpellith me : 649
 y may no more hens-foorth / speke & bewailh,
 My tonge and eeke my wit / now so⁴ me faill. 651

(94)

I shall die
 at once.

" Ther is noon othir / y see wel ynow 652
 The tyme is come / as blyue y shal be deed ;

¹ Later scribble at side: "he shal be . . H. 5, 3."

² weepe and compleyne A.

³ Later scribble at side: "Gefferye thirgood . . Ryght . .
 gefferye thir . . put to . . p p p p p p . . put to . to the sayd
 gefferyth de vez . . th . . d d d." ⁴ so now A.

See how my face wexith pale now,
 And my look ful dym / &¹ heuy as leed ;
 Myn yen synke eeke / deepe in-to myn heed, 656
 And torne vp so down / and myn hondes two
 Wexen al stif and starke / & may nat do ; 658

(95)

" Prikkynge of deeth me, wrecche, conpace ; ¶ *Punctare mortis amar-*
 Stirtemeel gooth my pows² / and elles naght ; *issime me*
 Mortel pressures / sharply me menace, *circumdant* My pulse beats
 My breeth begynneth faiht / and eeke the draght *&c* by starts,
 Of it fro fer is fet / & deepe caght ; 663
 No lengere y now see this worldes light ; my eyes fail.
 Myn yen lost han hir office & might. 665

(96)

" But now y see with myn yen mental³ 666 [leaf 68, back]
 Thestat of al⁴ an-othir world than this ;
 I am ny goon / as faste passe y shal ;
 O my lord god / a gastful sighte it is !
 Now of confort haue y greet lak⁵ & mis ; 670 I have no comfort.
 Horrible feendes and innumerable
 Awayte vp-on⁶ my soule miserable ;⁶ 672

(97)

" The blake-faced ethiopiens 673 Black Ethiops
 Me enuyrone / and aftir it abyde surround me.
 To hente it / whan þat it shal passen hens,
 If þat par auenture it so betyde
 þat the lot ther-of / faht vp-on hir syde ; 677
 hir viserly⁷ faces, grim & hydous,
 Me putte in thoghtful dreedes encombrous. 679

¹ dun my look and as A.² pous A ; powr D.³ Later pencil writing at top : "Thomas Wylton) of kyrke Landes whare I doo mooste humbly Bygge [?] that (lf. 69, top) this Byll mayd the iiijth daye of may in) ye yer."⁴ al of A.⁵ Awayten on A.⁶ The Ashburnham MS ends.⁷ grisly Reg.

(98)

The stern Judge ¶ "O streit and steerne Iuge & domesman, 680
condemns me. Thow weyest¹ moche / in deemyngs me, wrecche,
[¹ weyest me R.] Tho thynges whiche fewe folkes can
But smal by sette / or of hem charge or recche ;
Lo / deethes strooke haastith me hens to fecche ; 684
[² eke Reg.] My membres, shee² so thirlith & distressith,
That nature ouercome is / shee witnessith. 686

(99)

[leaf 69] "O gastful is the iust Iuges lookynge 687
Vn-to me, now present / thurgh fere & dreede,
which sodeynly shal come / him self sheewynge.
Farewell, friends! ¶ ffar-wel, freendes & felawes / for neede 688
Moot y vnclothe me of lyues weede ;
To purgatorie y shal as streight as lyne,
ffor myn offenses / ther to suffre pyne ;

¶ O terribile as-
pectus iusti iudicis
mihi iam presenti
per timorem /
subito venturus
&c.
¶ Nunc valeto
socij &c. . .

(100)

"And thens twynne y nat / til maad haue y gree 694
Of the leeste ferthyng þat y men shal ;
I shall go to In whiche place y beholde and see
Affliccioun and sorwe ynow at al ;
There y no ioie see, but wo oueral ; 698
fiery flames, The fyry flaumbes vp-on heichte ryse,
In which / the soules brenne in wooldy wyse. 700

(101)

"They vp now possid been / & now down throwe, 701
Right as sparckles of fyr / aboute sprede,
Whan þat a greet toun / set is on a lowe,
And al is fyred / bothe in lengthe & brede.
where souls in Wo been tho soules / in tho brondes rede, 705
torment cry ffor payne of which torment / ful lowde & hye
They in this wyse / ful pitously crye :³ 707

³ Later scribble at side and foot: "Richard Lyon . . god
haue mercie vpon all Crysten soules . . and yf thou . . knewes
Thouu knewest . . 869 . . v . . . 12" . . 'hast' . . 'hayll mygh
&' . .

(102)

¶ "Now, mercy haue on our captiuitee;
 To yow our freendes / namely we preye;
 Wher is your help now / wher is your chiertee?
 Whidir been the promesses goon to pleye
 Of yow, our Cousins eekes / can yee portreye
 Your wordes so gayly¹ / and effect noon
 folwith / but al as deed is as a stoon?

708

[leaf 60, back]

for mercy,

¶ Pro dolore
 cruciatum
 clamant
 singule &
 dicunt /
 Miserrimi
 mei / miserrimi
 mei / miserrimi
 mei
 saltem vos
 amict mei,
 vult est nunc
 misericordiam
 meorum
 adiutorium?
 vbi sunt pro-
 missiones
 bone Conser-
 guineorum
 meorum &c

[¹ gately Reg.]

(103)

"By youre desires inordinat,
 And eekes of othir² mo / our self han we
 Broght in-to this plyt and wrecchid estat;
 Ioie han we noon / but of wo greet plente.
 Allas / why nat vp-on vs reewen yee?
 We dide al our might / to do yow plesance;
 And yee no routhe han / on our sharp greuance.

717

[² And other
folkes Reg.]and are full
of woe.

719

721

(104)

"fful euele we rewarded been of yow;
 We brenne / and yee the fyr nat qwenche a deel.
 Allas! we nadden for our self or now
 Y-doon / we were auysid no thyng weel;
 Worldly trust is / as alipir as an eel;
 Al is nat trewe / þat the world promettith;
 fful wys is he / þat ther-by litil settith.³

722

They reproach
their friends
for not helping
them.

726

728

(105)

"The leeste torment of this purgatorie
 þat we souffren / exceedith in sharpnesse
 Tormentes all of the⁴ world transitorie.
 Heere, of torment / more is the bittirnesse
 In an hour / then the worldes wikkidnesse
 May hurte or greene in an .C.⁵ yeer:
 Greet is thaffliccioun þat we han heer.

729

[leaf 70]

Their torments
are most bitter.[⁴ this Reg.]

733

[⁵ hundred Reg.]

735

³ Later scribble at side (repeated from leaf 61, p. 192 n. above):

"No kinde of labore is a thinge of shame,
 but idelnes evermore worthi of blame.

love is the occupacion or busines of idle Folkes, that haue no thinge
 ells to sett themselves & worke with-all." In the beginning.

(106)

	" But aboue alle kyndes of tormentis,	736
God's face they never see.	Of goddes blissid face the absence	
	Greeueth most / þat lak, our moost ¹ wofull sentis : ¹	
[¹ - ¹ Reg. 17 D vi.]	ffor a memorie / leue y this sentence	
	To thes / and heere y die in thy presence."	740
The Disciple sees the man is dead.	¶ Whan the disciple sy þat he was past	
	And deed / he tremblid and was sore agast ;	742

(107)

	Aboute he torned him / and thus seide he :	743
He appeals to Wisdom for help.	¶ " Wher art thou now / o sapience eterne ?	
	O / good lord, haast thou now forsaken me ?	
	Wilt thou thy grace me denye and werne ?	
	Thow seidest / ' sapience y sholde lerne ; '	747
	And now y am broght to the deeth almoost,	
	So troublid is my spirit & my goost.	749

(108)

[leaf 70, back]	" This sighte of deeth so sore me astoneth,	750
The sight of death	þat wite y can vnnethe in soothfastnesse,	
	But am in doute / wher the soothe woneth,	
	That is to meene / if this be in liknesse	
has mazed him.	Or in deede / swich is my mazidnesse ;	754
	But how it be / lord, y byseeche thee,	
	Be my confort in this perplexitee !	756

(109)

Its perils	" Neuere the perils of deeth vndisposid	757
[² self Reg.]	In my lyf ² kneew I, as y do now right ;	
have sunk into his heart.	Withyn myn herte been they deepe enclosid,	
	And so sadly / ther-in picchid and pight,	
	þat hem foryete / lyth nat in my myght.	761
	That gastful sighte / y hope shal profyete	
	Vn-to my soules helthe / nat a lyte.	763

(110)

[³ - ³ Nodwellynge place . haue I espied . ne Han we here Reg.]	³ " Dwellynge place / y haue espyd, and see, Han we noon ³ / in this wrecchid world changeable.	
---	--	--

ffor why / vn-to þat blisful hy contree
 which nat may varie / but is permanable,
 Shape y me streeche / o lord god merciabile,
 Y mercy axe / vp-on me, wrecche, reewe !
 Hens foirward / wole y lede a lyf al neewe.

(111)

" Now lerne for to die / y me purpose ;
 Hens-foorth / penance wole y nat delaye ;
 My lyf to amende wole y me dispose ;
 ffor syn thoghþtes of deeth / so me esmaye /
 Wel more y am seur / deeth me shal affraye
 Whan þat eschue / y shal nat hir presence ;
 O, ther thyn help / eterne sapience !¹

(112)

" Now wole y voide fethirbeddes softe,
 The pilwes nesahe / and esy materas
 On whiche my careyne / hath tymes ofte
 Walkid and leyn / now stande I in swich cas
 þat me thynkith / al greet folie it was.
 Of clothynge eeke, fy on the preciouste,ee,
 And slouthe of sleep also lettynge me.

(113)

" Syn y tormentid am so greuously
 With thynges smale / how sorwes so grete
 Souffre mighte y, if now die sholde y,
 þat neuere or this / my synnes kowde lete ?
 O. what matire / of helle fyr / the hete
 Mighte in me thanne fynde / certes greet,
 ffor which / my body of cold swoot is al weet.

(114)

" Now woot I weel / what thyng þat may auaiH
 My soule / and it keepe fro perisshynge :
 By souffrance of greet labour & trauaiH,
 And exerceyse of vertuous luyynge,

768 He prays for
God's mercy,

770

771 [leaf 71]
and promises to
learn how to die,
by repentance
and amendment.

775

777

778 He will give up
feather beds

782

and choice
clothes,
784

785

789

791

792 [leaf 71, back]

and will take
to labour and
virtuous life.

¹ Later scribble in margin : "sapience . . presence . . softe."

Wole y it helpe / left al tarynge, 796
 þat in swich an houres extremittee,
 No payne / but reste, fynde may shee. 798

(115)

“ O holy and merciful Sauueur, ¶ O sencie &
 Of so bitter deeth / souffre me nat dye, misericors saluator,
 Thogh y be thikke wrappid in errour : tam amaro mortis
 See / befor thee / plat on the grownd y lye, ne tradas me !
 Weepyng / for myn excessyf folye ; 803
 And, curteys lord / of thy benignitee,
 This grace vouche-sauf to grante me, 805

(116)

“ Aftir thy lust / be my punysshement 806
 Whyle y am heere / and, good lord, nat reserue
 To othir place / the chastisement
 Which þat y, wrecche / heere in this world disserue !
 let me abyte it heere / or þat y sterue, 810
 ffor in þat place horrible / is swich sharpnesse
 Of payne / þat no wight can it expresse. 812

(117)

¶ “ O how vnwys or this haue y been ay, 813
 Syn þat deeth vndisposid and the payne
 Of purgatorie / y kowde by no way
 Considere / ne how it kowde distreyne.
 Set was myn herte in othir thoghþtes veyne, 817
 þat yaf me lettyng and impediment
 To thynte vp-on the perils consequent ; 819

(118)

‘ But now, thurgh fadirly amonestyng, ¶ Sed nunc paterne
 My myndes yen þat cloos were and shit / admonitus orula
 I opne / and of tho perils am dredyng.” aperio, &c.
 ¶ And sapience ansuerde anon to it :
 “ My sone / to do so / it is greet wit, 824
 Whiles thou yong art / & haast strengthe & force ;
 Thy lyf for to correcte / thee enforce. 826

(119)

" Whan þat deeth cometh / which cruel and fel is, 827
 Whom thou nat maist withstonde ne withsitte /
 Help ne refuyt / is ther for thee noon ellis /
 But to the mercy of god / thee committe, and betake him to
God's mercy.
 By no way / þat nat leue ne ommitte; 831
 My passioun putte eeke / twixt my doom & thee,
 Lest more than neede is / adrad thou be. 833

(120)

" My rightwisenesse nat so mochil dreede 834 [leaf 72, back]
 þat thou fro trust and hope of mercy twynne;
 Contrytly mercy axe / and thou shalt speede.
 Now restfullere in thy goost be withynne,
 þat ouer ferd art / thee poure of thy synne, 838
 Scourge thy self / with repentances rod;
 Begynnynge of wisdam / is dreede of god. 840 The fear of God
is the beginning
of wisdom.

(121)

¶ " Scriptures serche / & by hem shalt thou leere 841
 þat vn-to man is it greet auantage,
 Deeth to haue ofte in mynde, in this lyf heere. 843
 If yeeres manye / and vn-to good age
 Man lyue / and in all hem glad & sauage
 Be / good is, the dirke hour & dayes wikke
 Remembre / or þat he come to the prikke;
 ¶ Si annis, inquit
sapiens, multa vix-
erit homo / & in
omnibus hijs bene
fecerit / meminisse
debet tenebrosi
temporis, &c. Let him remem-
ber Death in
time,

(122)

" ffor whan þat tyme is comen, and þat hour, 848
 Repreued shal be the past vanitee;
 Remembre therfore on thy Creatour
 In thy fressh youthe & lusty iolitee,
 Or tyme come of sharp aduersitee, 852
 And or þat yeeres approche of disese,
 In whiche thou wilt seyn / they nat thee plesse. 854
 HOCCLEVE, M.P.—II. and his Creator
in his youth.
P

(123)

[leaf 73]	<p>And, or asshen in-to hir eerthe also¹ Where-of they were / ageyn hem thidir dresse, And thy spirit to god / whens it cam fro Retourne / god, with al thyn herte blisse, Thanke him / shewe vn-to him thy kyndenesse; for he to thee now opned hath the way Wherthurgh thou maist be sauēd, is no nay.</p>	<p>855 859 861</p>
The way of sal- vation is open.		

(124)

Few think of the unstableness of the world,	<p>“fful fewe been / þat so with hertes ere, Konne apparceyue thinstabilitee Of the world / and konne of the deeth han fere, Which þat alway lyth in awayt pryuee, Ne þat of the ioie and felicittee Of heuene / which ay shal laste & endure, Take any manere heede at al / or cure.</p>	<p>862 866 868</p>
and the ever- lasting joy of heaven.		

(125)

They shut the eyes of their mind,	<p>¶ “Lifte vp thyn yen² / looke aboute & see Diligently / how many folkes blynde [2 MS. then] In hir conceites now a dayes be; They close & shutte the yen of hir mynde; They nat keepe, in hir conceit serche & fynde Vn-to what ende / needes they shuln drawe, And al for lak of dreede of god, and awe.</p>	<p>869 873 875</p>

(126)

[leaf 73, back]	<p>“They stoppe hire eres / for they nat ne keepe Hoere how conuerted be / and receyue helthe; Correccion is noon / they let it sleepe; They been so drunken of this worldes welthe, That deeth, or they be waar / right in a stelthe ffallith up-on hem / which condicioun Hem cause shal hastyf perdicoun.</p>	<p>876 880 882</p>
and are drunk with this world's wealth. But Death shall bring them to perdition.		

¹ Later scribble at top and side, with monograms or figures: “(!) Sauēd Edmedye . . . now must I die, and have not deferred . . . Harrison late ffr . . . To my approved ffrende m^r Geaven (!) . . . try and then trust, quod bodytt . . . peace and Grace be with yow, frome god the ffather for euer and euer . . . W. W . . . W . . . n.”

(127)

"The peple now let seen innumerable 883
 þat for deeth vndisposid / lost han be /
 Considere / and if thy wit be ther-to able /
 Noumbre of hir multitude the plentee
 Eeke of hem þat in thy tyme with thee 887 See how many
have died during
your own life,
 Dwelt han / looke how þat they been take away :
 Thow seest wel / they from hens been past for ay ; 889

(128)

"And as they heere han do / so shuln they haue. 890
 What multitude in yeeres fewe ago,
 Thee yit lyuyng / han leid been in hir graue !
 What brethren / Cousins / felawes and mo brothers, com-
panions, &c.
 Of thy knowleche / beholde alle tho ! 894
 Thyne eeke, with hem / hire olde synne goon is ;
 Touche vn-to hem / speke and axe hem of this, 896

(129)

"And they with wepyng and with waymentynge 897 [leaf 74]
 Shuln to thee seye / and thus ageyn answer :
 ' Blessid is he / þat can see the endynge,
 And synnes / þat the soule hurte & dere,¹
 Eschue can / and hem flee and forbere ; ' 901
 And þat in my Conseil hath good sauour,
 Disposyng him alway vn-to þat hour. 903

(130)

"And therfore / alle vicious thynges left, 904 Therefore prepare
to die.
 Weel thee dispose / and reedy make thee
 To dye / lest the tyme be thee reft
 Or þat thow be waar / for no certainte
 Haast thow ther-of / thow art no thyng pryuee 908
 Ther-to / deeth is nat fer / right atte yate
 Shee is / be reedy for to dye algate ! 910

¹ In margin, later : "John Jarlin, & Elizabeth his wel-
belovinde Wiffe, dme." At foot : "Ryghte wellbeloued father
and mother."

(131)

Look so to your
soul before you
go hence,
that you may
gain life ever-
lasting.

¶ "Right as a Marchant stondynge in a port, 911
his ship þat charged is with marchandyse
To go to fer parties / for confort
Of him self / lookeþ / þat it in sauf wyse
Passe out / Right so, if thou wirke as the wyse, 915
See to thy soule so / or thow hens weende,
þat it may han the lyf þat haath noon eende. 917
Amen!"

¶ *Explicit illa pars / per quam sciendum est mori.*

(132)

[leaf 74, back]
The other 3 Parts
of this treatise,

I'm too great
a fool

The othir .iiij. partes which in this booke 918
Of the tretice of deeth expressid be,
Touche y nat dar / þat labour y forsooke,
ffor so greet thyng / to swich a fool as me
Ouer chargeable is, by my leautee, 922
To medle with / ynow the firste part
ffor my smal konnyng is / and symple art ; 924

(133)

to english in ryme,
so I'll do it in
prose,

But as the .ix.^e lesson which is rad 925
In holy chirche / vp-on all halwen day
witnessith / syn it ioieful is and glad
ffor hem þat hens shuln wel departe away,
And to the blisse go þat lastith ay, 929
Translate wole y / nat in rym, but prose,
ffor so it best is / as þat y suppose, 931

(134)

and tell of the
joys of the
heavenly city
Jerusalem.

How greet ioie and blisse / is shapen to hem 932
þat so shuln passe hens / vp to the Citee
Callid celestial, Ierusalem.
Aftir our might and possibilitee
Let vs considere / al thogh it so be, 936
That for to comprehende þat gladnesse,
Verraily / no wit may, ne tonge expresse. 938

Lo, thus is seid of þat Citee in a place / There-in
 is no sorwe / heuynesse ne waymentynge. what
 is more blisful / than þat lyf is / where no
 dreede is of pouerte / of maladie / no feeblennesse /
 there is no wight hurt / no wight wrooth / no wight
 hath enuye / ther is no brennyng or hete of couetyse /
 no desir of mete / noon ambicioun of honour or of
 power / no dreede of the feend / noon awaytes of
 deuales / the fere of heH / fer thens / no deeth of body
 ne soule / but ioieful yiftes and iocounde of immor-
 talitee / there shal neuere be discord / stryf ne debat /
 but alle thynges conuenient and accordynge / no diui-
 sion, but onhede / for ther shal been o concord of aH
 seintes / o pees & gladnesse continuel / aH thynges
 peisible / aH in quiete and reste / there is an excellent
 brightnesse and shynynge / nat this light / þat now is /
 but in so mochil cleerere / as it is bettre and more
 noble / for, as it is red / "þat Citee shal noon neede
 haue of the sonnes light / but our lord god al-mighty
 shal enlumyne it" / & the lamb is his lanterne / where
 as seintes shuln shyne as sterres in perpetuel eternitees /
 and as the shynynge of the firmament þat spredith his
 beames vp-on many men / wherfore in þat place is no
 nyght / no dirknesses / no concours of clowdes / no
 fretynge cold / no sharpnesse / but swich attemperance
 of thynges shal be there / whiche neither ye of man
 neuere sy / ne ere herde / ne herte can thynke ne com-
 prehende / sauf of hem þat been worthy & han dis-
 serued to haue þat blisse / whos names arn writen in
 the booke of lyf / & whiche wasshid hir stoles in the
 lambes blood / & been befor the See of god / and
 serue him day and nyght / noon age is there / ne
 miserie or wrecchidnesse of age / whyles aH shul been
 o parfyte body, o parfyte man, in the mesure of the ful
 age of Cryst / [No break in MS.]

[1 leaf 75]
 No sorrow is
 there, or wailing,

no envy,

no fear of hell,

no strife;

but unity,

peace,

brightness.

God lights it.

[2 leaf 75, back]
 There, is no night
 or cold, but joys
 unthinkable;

['robert as-
 cue', later,
 at side.]

no misery,
 but one perfect
 body in Christ.

¶ And abouen aH thynges / is to been associated to

There folk
company with
Angels,

and Sainte,

and see Martyrs

[leaf 76]

and Virgins.

The chief of all
joys is,

to see the bright-
ness of God.

Win this realm
by good works.

The Kingdom
of Heaven is
taken by assaults
of Virtue.

It seeks no other
prize but thee.

As Christ gave
Himself for thee,
[leaf 76, back]
give thyself for
Him,

the compaignies of the trones / dominacions / Principatz
& potestatz of Angels & Archangels / & to been in the
compaignie of all the celestial and hy vertues / & to
beholde the compaignie of seintes, brightere & yeuyng
more light than the sterres / shynynge in the feith of
Patriarks / gladynge & ioyng in the hope of prophetes
deemyng the world of apostles in .xij. tribes of Israel /
& to beholde eke the shynynge of martirs with pur-
purat corones of victorie / and to see the compaignies
of virgines werynge brighte garlandes. [No break in
MS.]

¶ And for to speke of the kyng þat sittith in the
midde of hem / no vois ther-to souffisith / it may nat
be told ne expressid / that honour / þat vertu / þat
magnificence and þat glorie exceedith and passith all
wittes & intellectes of man / and passynge all the
seintes ioies / is to beholde the inestimable brightnesse
of þat kyng / & to be spred with the bemes of his
mageste / let thise thynges sadly synke in-to oure
hertes / let vs vnderstande hem with ful feith / let hem
be beloued with alle oure hertes / let hem be goten by
the greetnesse and by the multitude of goode wirkes
and continuel / this thyng is put in the might of the
wirkere / for the kyngdam of heuene souffrith forcible
and mighty assautes of vertu. [No break in the MS.]

¶ O man / this thyng / þat is to seyn, the kyngdam
of heuene, seekith noon othir prys / but thyn owne
self / it is as mochil worth as thow art / yeeue thee / &
thow shalt haue it / what, artow astoned or adrad of the
prys? Cryst yaf him self / to purchase thee the Regne
to god the fadir / Right so yeue ²thow thy self / þat
thow maist been his kyngdam / and þat no synne regne
in thy mortel and deedly body / but let thy good spirit
regne in thee to purchase thee theternel lyf. ¶ And
therefore, who-so desairith to haue the merites euere
lastynge / he moot de-lyte him to gete hem thurgh

goode and vertuons wirkes / That is the path and the
streight way to blisse endeles / the which he vs
grante, þat boghte vs with his precious blood. Amen!
Amen!

by delighting in
good works.

Now vndirstandith wel and considerith in your
hertes, þat as mochil ioie as ther is in that
blisful place of heuene: as greet sorwe, angwiash and
torment is in þat othir part in heh / to expresse hem /
needith nat / for they been the reuers and contrarie to
the ioies aboue named / wherby uery persone may
reasonably conceyue þat in þat place of torment the
peynes been merueillously sharpe & greuous / And yit
for al þat smert / if any ende sholde sue or folwe / that
wolde yeue the soules right hy confort, and greetly
abregge and lesne hir grief / but awayte nat aftir þat /
for it wole nat betyde / for right as the seid ioies been
eternel and ay lastynge: so been tho¹ peynes infynyt
and endeles / And sikirly, syn god of his hy grace and
benigne courtesie hath yeuen vs libertee and freedam
for to purchase by oure wirkes in this present lyfe² þat
oon or þat othir / al standith in our choys and elec-
cioun: to grete fooles been we / but if we² cheese the
bette part / which part, god of his infynyt goodnesse
graunte vs alle to cheese / Amen!

As much joy as
is in Heaven,
so great torment
is in Hell.

And as the joys
are everlasting,
[1 leaf 77]
so are the pains
of Hell.

We can buy
either one
or the other.

God grant us
to choose the
better part.

XXIV.

¶ *Hic additur alia fabula ad instanciam
amici mei predilecti assiduam = = =*

[Prolog.] (1)

This booke thus to han endid had y thogh^t,
But my freend made me change my cast;
Cleene out of þat purpos hath he me broght:

1 I meant to stop
my book here,

² MS faded

but my friend
preest me to

"Thomas," he seide / "at Estren that was last,
I redde a tale / which y am agast 5
To preye thee, for the laboures sake
That thow haast had / for to translate & make ;¹ 7

(2)

[leaf 77, back]
english another
Tale to warn
young men

"And yit fu. tain wolde y þat it maad were ; 8
Thensaumple of it / to yonge men mighte auaille,
And par cas / cause hem riot to forbere
The rathere / and be better of gouernaiht ;
Youthe in no wyse / wole his thankes faiht, 13
fflessh for to chepe, femel and venal,
Payyng for it / more than worth is al. 14

against buying
female flesh.

(3)

He said,
bought women
slay the soul,
and empty the
purse.

"þat thyng is deere and ouer deere boghit, 15
That soule sleeth / and the body destroieth,
And the purs emptith, leuyng in it noghit
Or smal / swich chaffare often sythe annoieth,
And yonge folke encombrith and accloieth, 19
Lettyng hem to purchace hem good renoun,
And haastyng hem to hir confusioun.² 21

(4)

And he had a
wild son of 15,

for whom he
wanted the Tale
englishit.

"ffor this is þat y speke / and to this ende : 22
A sone haue y .xv. yeer of age,
ffor whom it is as wisly, god mamende,
þat y desire, in-to our langage
þat tale be translated / for Sauage 26
And wylde is he / and likly to foleye
In swich cas / now helpe if thow maist, y preye. 28

(5)

[leaf 78]

"Nat fer the tale fro / which thow maad haast 29
Of themperice / this tale is, y trowe,
And is of a womman / þat was vnchaast

¹ Later scribble at foot: 'g p d . . This balws (!).' At back :
'Thomas . . nn) . . M d.'

² At side, later: 'Mr. Joclyne.'

And deceyuable and sly / as thow shalt knowe
By þat the lyues / thow red haue on rowe.
Brynge y shal thee / the copie verray
There-of / if thee list / seye on yee or nay."

33 It was a *Gesta*
story of a de-
ceitful, unchaate
woman.

(6)

¶ "freend, looth me were nay seye vn-to yow,
But y suppose / it may noon othir be,
Lest wommen vn-to Magge, the good kow,
Me likne / and thus seye / 'o, beholde & see
The double man / o, yondir, lo, gooth he
That hony first yaf / and now yeueth galle :
He fo in herte is / vn-to wommen alle ;

36 Hooecleve con-
sents,

lest women
should liken him
to Madge, the
good cow,

(7)

"Til he of wommen oute¹ wordes wikke,
He fastynge is / him seemeth ; al the day,
Out of his mowth / lesynges swarmen thikke ;
On wommen / no good word / affoorthe he may ;
And if he wel speke / or wryte / is no nay,
He nat meueth / as he spekith or writ :
O lewde dotepol / straw for his wit !'

43 and abuse him for
telling lies all day
about them.

(8)

"This þat yee me now reede is al contrarie
Vn-to þat yee me red han heer-before ;
Yee senden² / syn y many an aduersarie
Had of wommen / for y mis had me bore
To hem or this : yee redden me therfore
Humble me to hem / and of grace hem preye ;
But this reed haldith al an othir weye.

50 [leaf 78, back]
Hooecleve thinks
this Tale inconsi-
sistent with his
friend's advice
that he shal beg
for women's
favour.

(9)

"Sholde y a neewe smoke now vp reyse,
And y so mochil rered haue or now
By your sawe than were y nat to preise."
¶ "Thomas, to wikkid wommen wel maist thow
Yeue hir pars / & wryte of hem euele ynow ;

57

His friend says,
"Blaming wicked
women

61

¹ out, *ut*. = utter. [The proof of the next 3½ pages has been lost.]
² ! for sciden.

is no shame to
good ones.

To goode wommen shal it be no shame,
Al thogh þat thow / vnhonest wommen blame ; 63

(10)

"No woman 'll
abuse you except
those who've gone
wrong."

"ffor, Thomas / thow shalt vndirstonde this, 64
No womman wole / to thee ward maligne,
But swich oon / as hath trode hir shoo amis ;
ffor who so dooth / ful suspect is the signe ;
The vertuous womman / good and benigne, 68
Noon encheson but good / may han to thee
ffor this tale / wryte on par charitee ! 70

(11)

[leaf 79]
And I want the
Tale, not only for
my son, but to
rebuke women's
wantonness now."

"Nat oonly for my sones tendrenesse¹ 71
Coueite y / þat this tale were makid /
But to rebuke also / the wantonness
Of lyf of many a womman / þat is nakid
Of honestee / and with deshonour blakid ; 75
Eeke to miroure wommen vertuous :
What ende takith swich lyf vicious ?" 77

(12)

So Hoccleve
agrees,

¶ "On goddes half, freend / than let the copie 78
Of þat tale / whan yow list, be me sent ;
And with good wil / wole y ther-to me hye
Whan y there-of / take haue auisament."

gets the story,
and englishes it.

¶ He glad was ther-with-al / & wel content. 82
The copie on the morwe sente he me :
And thus y wroot as yee may heere see. 84

¶ Explicit prologus, & incipit
fabula de quadam muliere mala.

¹ Later scribble at top and side :

"He that in yothe no vartue (?) well ves [= use],
in age all honor will hym refuse ;
therefore better yt were, a pouer house to holde,
then to lye in preason in fetteres of golde.

Le the Ryght Ryght Reuerent fayther in god, maister bonor,
doctor Wylliam Willon of Kyrke-lande in the dyoule [! MS.]
afore-sade dothe all vnto the . . . thay thay thay that . . . Can
natt, nor may nott, nor yett, I thenke, shall not Lede my Lyfe
quyet-lye ; my wyfe well not lett me."

(13)

¹ Somtyme Reg.

- Whilom¹ an Emperour prudent & wys* 85 [leaf 79, back]
 Regned in Rome / and hadde sones three,
 whiche he hadde in greet chiertee & greet prys ;
 And whan it shoop so / þat thinfirmitee ² ne Reg.
 Of deeth / which no wight may esclue or² flee, 89
 Him threew down in his bed / he leet do call
 His sones / and before him they cam aft ; 91 and sends for his
 sons.

(14)

- And to the firste / he seide in this maneere : 92 To the first, he
 leaves his inher-
 " Al theritage which at the dyynge
 Of my fadir he me lefte : al in feere
 leue y thee ¶ and al þat of my byynge
 was / with my peny / al³ my purchacynge, ³ and R. 96 To the second,
 his acquired
 My second sone / byqwethe y to thee."
 ¶ And to the .iiij^{de}. sone / thus seide he : 98 property.

(15)

- " Vnmeeble good right noon, withouten coth, 99 To the third,
 three Jewels, a
 Thee yeue y may / but y to thee dyuyse
 Iewelles .iiij*. a ryng / brooch & a clooth,
 with whiche / and thow be gyed as the wyse,
 Thow maist gete al þat oghte thee souffyse. 103
 who-so þat the ryng vsith for to were,
 Of alle folke the loue he shal conquere ; 105 The Ring 'll get
 its wearer the love
 of every one.

(16)

- " And who so the brooch berith on his brest, 106 [leaf 80]
 It is eek of swich vertu and swich kynde,
 That thynke vp-on what thyng him lykith best,
 And he as blyue shal it haue & fynde.
 My wordes, sone, enprynte wel in mynde ; 110
 ¶ The clooth eeke hath a merueillous nature,
 which þat committed shal be to thy cure : 112 The Cloth

(17)

- " Who-so sit on it / if he wisse where 113 'll carry any
 sitter on it
 In al the world to been / he sodeynly

* A few of the many differences of the worse MS. Reg. 17 D
 VI are given in this sheet.

wherever he
wishes to go. Withoute more labour shal be there.
Sone, tho three Iewelles byqwethe y
To thee / vn-to this effect certeynly, 117
The third Son is
to study at the
University. þat to the studie of the vniuersitee
Thow go / and þat y bidde and charge thee." 119

(18)

The Emperor
dies, Whan he had thus seid¹ / the vexacioun¹ y¹esle Reg. 120
Of deeth so haastid him, þat his spiryt
Anoon forsooke his habitacioun
In his body / deeth wolde no respyt
him yeue at al / he was of his lyf qwyte, 124
and is solemnly
buried. And biried was with swich solempnitee
As fil to his imperial dignitee. 126

(19)

[leaf 80, back]
I shall tell you
only of the third
son, Jonathas. ¶ Of the yongeste sone I telle shal, 127
And speke no more of his brethren two,
ffor with hem haue y nat to do² at al. * done Reg.
Thus spak the modir, Ionathas vn-to :
"Syn god his wil hath of thy fadir do,³ 131
His mother says
she'll give him To thy fadres wil / wole y me confourme,
And trewely / his testament⁴ parfourme : * entente R. 133

(20)

the three Jewels. "He⁵ .iiij. Iewelles / as thow knowest weel, * Here Reg.
A ryng / a brooch & a clooth, thee byqweeth,
Whos vertues / he thee tolde euerydeel
Or þat he paste hens / & yald vp the breeth.
But her husband's
death sticks in
her heart. O goode god / his departynge, his⁶ deeth * and Reg. 138
fful greuously stikith vn-to myn herte ; * 1 Reg.
But souffred moot been al / how sore it⁷ smerte." 140

(21)

(Some widows do
grieve terribly, In þat cas wommen han swich heuynesse, 141
þat it nat lyth⁸ in my konnyng aright * lith nat Reg.
Yow telle of so greet sorwe the excesse,
but wise ones take
it easy, But wyse wommen konne take it light,
And in short whyle⁹ putte vn-to the flight * wise R. 145

³ Sithen god hath his wille / of thy fader ydo.--Reg.

Al sorwe and wo / and cacche ageyn confort :
Now to my tale make y my resort. 147

and get comforted
again.)

(22)

¶ "Thy fadres wil, my sone, as y seide eer', 148 [leaf 81]
wole y parfournme / haue heer the ryng, and go
To studie anoon / and whan þat thow art theer,
As thy fadir thee bad / do euene so ;
And as thow wilt, my blessyng haue also." 152
Shee vn-to him as swythe tooke the ryng,
And bad him keepe it weel / for any thyng. 154

Jonathas's mother
gives him the
Magic Ring,

(23)

He wente vn-to the studie general, 155 and he goes to
Wher he gat loue ynow, and aqueyntance
Right good and freendly / the ryng causynge al.
And on a day / to him befil this chance :
With a womman, a morsel of plesance, 159
By the streetes of the vniuersitee
As he was in his walkynge, mette he ; 161

He meets a wo-
man, a morsel of
pleasure,

(24)

And right as blyue he with hire had a tale, 162
And ther-with-al / sore in hir loue he brente :
Gay / fressh and pykid was shee to the sale,
ffor to þat ende and to þat entente
Shee thidir cam / and bothe foorth they wente, 166
And he a pistle rownd in hire ere :
Nat woot y what / for y ne cam nat there.¹ 168

gay and smart,
for sale,

(25)

Shee was his paramour, shortley² to seye. * shortly R. 169 [leaf 81, back]
This man to folkes alle was so leef, and takes her
þat they him yaf³ habundance of moneye. * vafe Reg. as his mistress.
he feestid folke / and stood at hy boncheef ;
Of the lake⁴ of good / he felte no greef, * lakke Reg. 173

¹ Later scribble at foot : "This biitt made the xth daye of
maye In the fy[r]ste yeere of the raygne of ore moste soueren
lord ky". Above : "youth . . B . . he . . yon."

He gets plenty of money from his King. Al whyles þat the ryng he with him hadde ;
But faylynge it / his frendshipe gan sadde.¹ 175

(26)

His paramour Fellicula His paramour, which þat / y-callid was 176
ffellicula / meruailled right greetly
Of the despenses of this Ionathas,
Syn shee no peny at al with him sy ;
And on a nyght / as þat shee lay him by 180
In the bed / thus shee to him spake & seide,
And this peticion assoið him prejde : 182

(27)

prays him, ¶ " O reuerent sire / vn-to whom," quod² shee, 183
" Obeye y wole ay with hertes humblesse,
as he's had her maidenhead, Syn / þat yee han had my virginitee, * koth (always) Reg.
yow y byseeche, of your hy gentillesse,
to tell her where his riches come from. Tellith me whens comth the good & richesse 187
That yee with feesten folke / and han no stoor,
By agh̃t y see can / ne gold ne³ tresor." * no coigne in Reg.

(28)

[leaf 82] " If y telle it," quod he / " par auenture 190
Thow wilt deskeuere it / & out it publiſshe :
He says women can't keep a secret. Swich is wommannes inconstant nature,
They can nat keepe conseil worth a risshe ;
Bettre is, my tonge keepe / than to wishe 194
þat y had kept cloos þat is goon at large, * For Reg.
And⁴ repentance is thyng þat y moot charge."⁵ 196

(29)

But, as she says she can, ¶ " Nay, goode sire / haldith me nat suspect ; 197
Doutith nothyng ; y can be right secree.
wel worthy were it me to been abiect
ffrom al good conpaignie / if y," quod shee,
" Vn-to yow sholde so mis take⁶ me ; * mystake Reg. 201
Beeth nat adrad your Conseil me to shewe."
he tells her ¶ " wel," seide he / " thus it is, at wordes fewe : 203

¹ At side : " ynof." ² At side : " Robert askewe . . He thð . . Lwillm."

(30)

"My fadir, the ryng which þat thow maist see 204 that his Ring
 On my fyngir / me at his dyyng¹ day ¹ endyng Reg.
 Byqweeth² / which this vertu & propretee ² Bequaethe Reg.
 hath / þat the loue of men, he shal haue ay makes men
 þat werith it / and ther shal be no nay, 208 love him,
 Of what thyng þat him lykith axe & crane, and give him
 But with good wil / he shal as blyue it haue 210 all he wants.

(31)

"Thurgh þat rynges vertuous excellence : 211 [leaf 82, back]
 Thus am y ryche, and haue euere ynow."
 ¶ "Now, sire, yit a word, by your licence,
 Suffrith me for to seye and speke now : Fellicula shows
 Is it wysdam / as þat it seemeth yow, 215
 were³ it on your fyngir continually ?" ³ To were Reg.
 ¶ "what⁴ woldest thou mene," quod he,⁴ "ther-by ?
 ⁴ wold ye my love koth he, mene Reg.

(32)

"What peril ther-of mighte ther befall ?" 218
 ¶ "Right greet," quod she / "as yee in conpaignye him how easily
 walke often / fro your fyngir mighte it fall, he may lose his
 Or plukkid of been⁵ in a ragerie, ⁵ be plukked of Reg. Ring off his
 And so be lost / and þat were folie. 222 finger,
 Take it me / let me been of it⁶ wardeyn ; ⁶ be therof Reg. and offers to keep
 ffor as my lyf, keepe it wole y⁷ certeyn."⁸ 224 it for him.
 ⁷ kepe wole I it Reg.

(33)

This Ionathas / this innocent yong man, 225 Poor innocent
 Yeuyng vn-to hir wordes / ful credence,— Jonathas gives
 As youthe nat auysed best be can:— it her,
 The ryng hir tooke, of his insipience.
 Whan this was doon / the hete & the feruence 229

⁸ Later scribble in margin : "harye ollyic xc to caunend [?] . .

Who seketh the renoune to have,
 And eke the prayse of vertuous name
 Of wisdoms ways, he ought to craue
 Withe gladsom will to work the same."

and her love at
once cools,

Of loue / þat he had beforþ purchaced,
Was qweynt / & loues knotte¹ was vnclaced.² 231

¹ the knotte of love Reg.

(34)

[leaf 88]
and men's gifts
stop.

Men of hir yiftes for to stynte gan : 232

"A," thoghþe he / "for the ryng y nat ne bere,
ffaillith my loue / fecche me, womman,"

Jonathas asks
her for the Ring
again.

Seide he, "my ryng / anoon y wole it were." 236

She roos / and in-to Chambre dressith here ;
And whan shee there-in / hadde been a whyle,
"Allas," quod shee / "out on falshode and gyle, 238

(35)

She declares it's
been stolen.

"The chiste is broken / and the ryng take out." 239

And whan he herde hir conþlaynte and³ cry, ⁴ and hir R.
He was astoned sore / and made a shout,

And seide / "cursid be þat day þat y
The mette first, or with myn yen sy." 243

She wepte, and shewid outward cheere of wo,
But in hire herte / was it no thyng so ; 245

(36)

(But it was safe
in her box all
the time.)

The ryng was sauþ ynow / and in hir cheste 246

It was / al⁴ þat shee seide was lesyng, ⁵ And alle Reg.

As sum womman / oþhir whyle atte beste
Can lye and weepe / whan is hir lykyng.⁵

Jonathas tells her
not to mind.

¶ This man sy hir wo / and seide, "derlyng, 250

Weepe no more / goddes help is ny ;" ⁵ kun weepe and lye.
at her owen Reg.

To him vnwist / how fals shee was and sly.⁶ 252

² Later, at side : "*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cantum* :
Fortunate is he who hathe the happe
to bewarre by an-other mannes clappe."

⁶ In a later hand (? c. 1500), at foot :

"A suffieynt salve for eache disease,
The cheff revenge for cruell yre,
Ys patyence, the present ease
For to delaye eche flamy fyre."

At side :

"I count his conquest greate,
That canne, by reasons scyлле,
Subdue affections heate,
And conquer wanton wyll."

(37)

He twynned thens / and hoom to his Contree, 253 [leaf 83, back]
 Vn-to his modir, the streight way he wente.
 And whan shee sy / thidir comen¹ was he, ¹ that thidir
 ¶ "My sone," quod shee / "what was thyn entente, come Reg.
 Thee fro the scoole / now for to absente? 257
 What causid thee / fro scoole hidir to² hye?" ² the studye
 ¶ "Modir, right this," seide he / "nat wole y lye: 259 hider Reg.]

(38)

"ffor soothe, modir / my ryng³ is ago; ³ The Ryng that 260 and tells her
 My paramour, to keepe y betooke it, ye me tooke R. his paramour
 And it is lost / for which y am ful wo; has lost his Ring.
 Sorwefully⁴ vn-to myn herte it sit." ⁴ Right greuously Reg.
 ¶ "Sone / often haue y warned thee / & yit 264
 ffor thy profyt y warne thee, my sone;
 Vnhonest wommen / thou heere-aftir shone. 266

(39)

⁵ to the wole I Reg.
 "Thy brooch anon right wole y to thee⁵ fetta." 267 His Mother gives
 Shee broghte it him / and charged him ful deepe— him his Magic
 Whan he it tooke / and on his brest it sette,— Brooch.
 Bet than he dide his ryng / he sholde it keepe,
 lest he the los / bewaille⁶ sholde and weepe." 271
 To the vniuersitee / shortly to seyn, ⁶ for the losse he walle Reg. He goes back to
 In what he kowde / he haastid him ageyn.⁷ 273 the University,

(40)

And whan he comen was / his paramour⁸ 274 [leaf 84]
 Him mette anon / and vn-to hire him tooke,
 As þat he dide erst / this yong reuelour;
 Hir conpaignie he nat a deel forsooke,
 Thogh he cause hadde / but, as with the hooke 278
 Of hir sleighte / he beforne was caght & hent /
 Right so he was deceyued eft & blent. 280

⁷ At foot, later, "Thomas."⁸ In margin, later: "tho . . . Gefferye thurgood . . . Gefferye thurgood . . . Gefferye thurgood . . . Dut to th D fayde."

(41)

Jonathas gets
much money
thro his Brooch.

And as thurgh vertu of the ryng before, 281
Of good he hadde habundance & plentea,
while it was with him / or he hadde it lore:
Right so / thurgh vertu of the brocch, had he
What good him list / shee thoghte, "how may this be?
Sum pryuee thyng / now causith this richesse:
As dide the ryng / heer-before, y gesse." 287

(42)

Fellicula urges
him to tell her
where his money
comes from.

[1] cloos fro hir
Reg.
2. 3 he not to hir
Reg.
3 wept Reg.
4 she borne Reg.]

Wondrynge heer-on / shee preide him, and besoghte
Bysyly nyght and day / þat telle he wolde 289
The cause of this / but he an othir thoghte;
He mente / ¹it cloos for him¹ / it kept be shokle;
And a long tyme ²it was / or he² it tolde. 292
Shee kepte³ ay to and to / and seide, "allas
The tyme and hour / þat euere y bore⁴ was!⁵ 294

(43)

[leaf 84, back]
She says she'll
sooner be slain
than betray him.

"Truste yee nat on me, sire?" she seide; 295
"leuer me were be slayn⁶ in this place" ⁶ dode Reg.
By þat good lord / þat for vs alle deide,
Than purpose ageyn⁷ yow any fallace. ⁷ ayenst Reg.
Vn-to yow wole y be, my lyues space, 299
As treewe as any womman in eerthe is
Vn-to a man / doutith no thyng of this." 301

(44)

He is foolishly
tender,
and tells her.

¶ Smal may⁸ shee do / þat can nat wel byheete, 302
Thogh nat parfourned be swich a promesse. ⁸ kan Reg.
¶ This Ionathas thoghte hir wordes ⁹so sweete,
þat he was dronke of the plesant swetnesse
Of hem / and of his fooliish tendrenesse,⁹ 306
Thus vn-to hire he spak and seide tho:
"Be of good confort / why weepist thou so?" 308

⁸ At foot, later, "Iohn Bargain / Ann. 1551."

⁹ swete

To hym, and of his foolish tendirnesse,
Why makest thou att this wo and hevynesse Reg.

(45)

- ¶ And shee ther-to answerde thus / sobbynge : 309 Fellicula says
 "Sire," *quod* shee / "myn heuynesse and dreede
 Is this / y am adrad of the leesynge she's afraid of his
 Of your brooch / as almighty god forbeede losing his Brooch.
 It happid so" // "now, what so, god thee speede," 313
 Seide he, "woldist thou in this cas consaille?"
 ¶ *Quod* shee, "þat y keepe mighte it,¹ sanz faille." 315 He should let her
¹ I myght it kepe Reg. keep it

(46)

- He seide, "y haue a fere & dreede algate, 316 [leaf 85]
 If y so dide, thou woldest it leese,
 As thou lostist my ryng / now goon but late."
 ¶ "first, god preye y,"² *quod* shee / "þat y nat cheese [² pray I god R.]
 But þat myn herte / as the cold frost may freese, 320
 Or elles be it brent / with wylde fyr;
 Nay / seurlly it to keepe / is my desyr." 322 safe for him.

(47)

- To hir wordes / credence he yaf³ pleneer, ³ he yafe credence R. Jonathas gives
 And the brooch tooke hire / and aftir anoon, 324 her the Brooch,
 Where-as he was beforn ful leef & cheer⁴ ⁴ ders Reg. and looses his
 To folke / and hadde good / al was agoon : money and
 Good and frendshipe him lakkid / ther was noon. 327 friends.
 "Womman / me fecche the brooch," *quod* he, "swythe⁵ He asks for the
 In-to thy chambre for it go / now hy the!"⁶ 329 Brooch again.

⁵ the brooch he fette. he seide now Reg.
⁶ go thertore. and tarye nat thou Reg.

(48)

- Shee in-to Chambre wente / as þat he⁷ bad, ⁷ he hir Reg.
 But she nat broghte / þat he sente hir fore ; 331
 Shee mente it nat / but as shee had be mad,
 hir clothes hath shee al to-rent & tore, Fellicula tears
 And cryde, "allas / the brooch away is bore ! 334 her clothes,
 ffor which y wole anoon right, with my knyf and says the
 My self slee / y am weery of my lyfe." 336 Brooch is gone:
 she'll kill herself.

⁴ Later, at side : "Hoind . . ¶ God, my duty don, I humble
 commend me vnto you, trustinge In the lonyng god long to
 contennee."

(49)

[leaf 85, back] This noyse he herde / & blyue he to¹ hir ran, ¹ blive unto R.
weenyng shee wolde han doon as shee spak¹; 337
Jonathas takes And the knyf, in al haaste þat² he can, ² as hastily as Reg.
the knife out of
her hand, ffrom hire tooke / & threew³ it behynde his bak,
And seide / "for the los / ne for the lak³ ³aste Reg. 341
and forgives her. Of the brooch / sorwe nat / y foryeue al;
I truste in god / þat yit vs helpe he⁴ shal." ⁴ he vs helpe R.

(50)

He goes back To themperice his modir / this yong man 344
again to his
Mother, Ageyn him dressith / he⁵ wente hire vn-to. ⁵ dressed, and R.
And whan shee sy him / shee to wondre gan;
Shee thoghite / 'now sumwhat ther is mis-do';
And seide / "y dreede thy Iewelles two 348
Been lost now / per cas the brooch⁶ with the ryng."
and tells her his ¶ "Modir," he seide / "yee / by heuene kyng." 350
Brooch is lost. ⁶ the brooch per cas Reg.

(51)

¶ "Sone, thou woost wel / no Iewel is left 351
Vn-to thee now / but⁷ the clooth precious, ⁷ save Reg.
Which y thee take shal / thee charging eft,
The conpaignie of wommen riotous
She warns him Thow flee / lest it be to thee so greuous 355
against riotous
women, That thow it nat susteene shalt,⁸ ne bere :
Swich conpaignie, on my blessinge, forbere !"⁹ 357
⁸ ne shalt not it sustene Reg.

(52)

[leaf 86] The clooth shee fette / and it hath¹⁰ him take,¹¹ 358
and gives him his
Magic Cloth. And of his lady his modir, his leue ¹⁰ is fette . and hath it Reg.

⁹ By a later hand in the margin :

"Know er thou kyntt, and then thou mayst slake;
yf thou kyntt er thou know, then hyt ys to late, &c.,"

(see pages 124, 152, above : footnotes).

"He that wyll not whan he maye,
Whan he wolde, he shall haue naye."

At foot, upside down :

"Better hyt hys, seeten to abyde,
then hastily to clym, and hastily to clyde [glyde]."

¹¹ Later scribble at top and side : "Hary ollyeux (?) Ha Mollynex . .
This it good . . hys feyndes . . to vnderstand . . mihm . ."

He tooke / but first this forward gan he make :

¶ "Modir," seide he / "trustith this weel, & leue

þat y shal seyn / for sooth yee shul it presue : 362

If y leese this clooth / neuere y your face

Hens-foorth se wole / ne yow preye of grace. 364

Jonathas says
he'll never see
his Mother again
if he loses his
Cloth.

(53)

"With goddes help / y shal do wel ynow." 365

Hir blessyng he tooke / and to studie is go ;

And as beforn told haue y vn-to yow,

his paramour / his priuce mortel fo,

Was wont for to meete him / right euene so 369

Shee dide thanne / & made him pleasant cheere :

They clippe and kisse / and walke homward in feere.

He goes back to
the University,
and again his
paramour meets
and kisses him,

and takes him
home.

(54)

Whan they were entred in the hows / he spradde 372

This clooth vp-on the ground / and ther-on sit,

And bad his paramour, this womman badde,

To sitte also / by him adoun on it.

Shee dooth as þat he commandith and bit. 376

had shee his thoght / and vertu of the clooth

wist / to han sete on it / had shee been looth. 378

He bids her sit
by him on his
Cloth,

(55)

Shee for a whyle was ful sore affesid.¹

379 [leaf 86, back]

¶ This Ionathas wisshe in his herte gan :

"wolde god þat y mighte thus been esid,

That as on this clooth y and this womman

Sitte here / as fer were, as þat neuere man 383

Or this cam" / and vnnethe had he so thoght,

But they with the clooth thidir weren broght 385

and then wishes
that they may
go far away.

At once they

(56)

Right to the worldes ende, as þat it were.

386 are borne to the
world's end.

¶ Whan apparceyued had shee this / shee cryde

¹ Later scribble at top: "Shee for a godes wis fulli sorye
sas" . . "Th Tho y y y y." At left side: "Wolld godd
Wolld Wolld . . stumm."

As thogh shee thurgh-girt had be with a spere :
 " Harrow / allas þat euere shoop this tyde !
 How cam we hidir " / " nay," he seide / " abyde ; 390
 Wers is comynge / heer, soul wole y thee leue ;
 Wyldre beestes thee shuln deuoure or eue, 392

(57)

because she's
 stolen his Ring
 and Brooch.
 " ffor thow my ryng and brooch haast fro me holden."
 ¶ " O reuerent Sire, haue vp-on me pitee," 394
 Quod shee / " if yee this grace do me wolden,
 As me brynge hoom ageyn to the Citee
 Where as y this day was / but if þat yee 397
 hem haue ageyn / of foul deeth do me dye ;
 Your bontee on me kythe / y mercy crye." 399

(58)

[leaf 87] ¶ This Ionathas kowde no thyng be waar,¹ 400
 Ne take ensample of the deceites tweyne
 þat shee dide him befor / but feith him² baar,
 And hire he comanded, on dethes peyne,
 ffro swiche offenses / thens-foorth hir restreyne. 404
 and swears she'll
 give up ill doing.
 Shee swoor, and made ther-to foreward ;
 But herkneth how shee baar hire aftirward : 406

(59)

Whan shee sy and kneew þat the wratthe & ire 407
 þat he to hire had born / was goon & past,
 And al was wel ! shee thoghte him eft to fyre ;
 In hir malice ay stood shee stidefast,
 And to enquire of him / was nat agast, 411
 In so short tyme / how þat it mighte be
 That they cam thidir out of hir contree. 413

(60)

Jonathas tells
 her of his Magic
 Cloth.
 ¶ " Swich vertu hath this clooth on which we sitte,"
 Seide he / " þat where / in this world vs be list, 415
 Sodeynly with the thoght shuln thidir flitte,

¹ Later scribble at side: "This comon (?) . . . William . . .
 This is geff." ² I hir

And how thidir come / vn-to vs vnwist,
 As thyng fro fer / vnknownen in the mist." 418
 And ther-with / to this womman fraudulent,
 "To sleepe," he seide / "haue I good talent; 420 and says he wants
 to sleep

(61)

"Let see," quod he / "strecche out anoon thy lappe,¹ [leaf 87, back]
 In which wole I myn heed down leye and reste." 422 on her lap.
 ¶ So was it doon / and he anoon gan nappe : He does so.
 Nappe! nay / he sleep / right wel atte beste.
 What dooth this womman / oon the fikileste 425
 Of wommen alle / but þat clooth þat lay Fellicula pulls
 Vndir him / shee drow lyte & lyte away. 427 the Cloth from
 under him,

(62)

Whan shee it had al / "wolde god," quod shee, 428 wishes herself
 "I were as I was this day morwenyng." at home,
 And ther-with / this roote of iniquitee and is at once
 Had hir wissh / and soul lefte him ther slepyng. carried there.
 ¶ "O Ionathas, lyke to thy perisshyng 432
 Art thou / thy paramour maad hath thy berd; (Jonathas, you're
 Whan thou wakist / cause hast thou to be ferd; 434 trickt;

(63)

"But thou shalt do ful wel / thou shalt obtene 435 but you shall
 Victorie on hire / thou haast doon sum deede yet win,
 Plesant to thy modir / wel can I weene,
 ffor which our lord god / qwyte shal thy meede,
 And thee deliure out of thy woful dreede. 439
 The chyld / whom þat the modir vaith blesse,
 fful often sythe is esid in distresse." 441 because your
 mother has
 blest you.)

(64)

Whan he awook / and neithir he ne fond 442 [leaf 88]
 Womman ne clooth / he wepte bittirly,
 And seide, "allas / now is ther in no lond
 Man werse, I trowe, begoon / than am y!"
 On euery syde his looke he caste, and sy 446
 He wakes, and
 finde neithir
 his paramour
 nor his Cloth.

¹ Later scribble at top: 'Recognise . . Dr.'

Nothing but bridde / in the eir fleyng,
And wyld beestes / aboute him rennyng. 448

(65)

Of whos sighte / he ful sore was agrysid : 449
Jonathas re-
proaches himself
He thoghte / "al this wel disserued y haue.
What eilid me to be so euil auysid,
That my Conseil / kowde I nat keepe & saue ?
for having playd
the fool by trust-
ing his secret
to a woman.
Who can fool pleye / who can madde or raue, 453
But he þat to a womman his secree
Deskeuereth / the smert cleueth now on me." 455

(66)

¶ He then departed / as god wolde harmlees, 456
He starte,
And foorth of auenture his way is went,
But whidirward he drow / he conceitles
Was / he nat kneew / to what place he was bent.
and goes through
a hot lake that
burns the flesh
off his feet.
He paste a watir / which was so feruent 460
þat flessch vp-on his feet / lefte it him noon ;
Al cleene was departid fro the boon. 462

(67)

¶ It shoop so þat he had a lytil glas, 463
[leaf 68, back]
Which, with þat watir / anoon filled he ;
He fille a glass
with this water,
And whan he ferthere in his way goon was,
Before him he beheeld and sy a tree
þat fair fruyt baar / and þat in greet plentee : 467
and then eats
some fruit which
turns him into
a leper.
He eet ther-of / the taast him lykid wel,
But he ther-thurgh becam a foul mesel ; 469

(68)

ffor which, vn-to the ground, for sorwe & wo 470
He curses the day
he was born,
He fil / and seide / " cursid be þat day
þat I was born / and tyme and hour also
þat my modir conceyued me / for ay
Now am I lost / alas and weleaway ! " 474
And whan sumdel slakid his heynnesse,
but walks on.
He roos / and on his way he gan him dresse. 476

(69)

- ¶ An othir watir before him he sy, 477 He then comes
 Which for to comen in he was adrad ; to another lake,
 But natheless / syn ther by / othir way,
 Ne aboute it / ther kowde noon been had :
 He thoghte / "so streytly am I bystad, 481
 þat thogh it sore me affese or gaste,
 Assaye it wole I" / and thurgh it he paste. 483

(70)

- And right as the firste watir his flesshe¹ 484 [leaf 80]
 Departed from his feet : so the secownde
 Restored it / and made al hool and fresshe.
 And glad was he, and ioieful þat stownde
 Whan he felte his feet hoole were and sownde. 488
 A viole of the watir of þat brooke
 He filde / & fruyt of the tree with him tooke. 490
 and its water
 restores the flesh
 of his feet.
 He fills a phial
 with it, and takes
 some of the leper-
 fruit.

(71)

- ffoordh his iourneye this Ionathas heeld ; 491
 And as þat he his looke aboute him caste,
 An-othir tree from a-fer he byheeld,
 To which he haastid and him hyed faste :
 Hungry he was / and of the fruyt he thraste 495
 In-to his mowth / and eet of it sadly,
 And of the leepre / he poured was ther-by. 497
 Then he ate the
 fruit of another
 tree, and that
 cures his leprosy.

(72)

- Of þat fruyt more he raghte / & thens is goon ; 498
 And a fair Castel from a-fer sy he,
 In compas of which / heedes many oon
 Of men ther heeng / as he mighte wel see ;
 But nat for þat / he shone nolde or flee ; 502
 He thidirward him dressith the streight way,
 In al þat euere þat he can or may. 504
 He gathers some
 of it,
 and walks to a
 Castle.

¹ Later scribble at side : "This biȝ made the x (! v) daye of
 maye In the fy[r]st year of the rayne of kyng" . . . "Thomas"
 (6 times).

(73)

[leaf 81 rect] Wallynges so two men cam him ageyn,¹ 505
 [leaf 81 v. rect] And seiden this "Dere frend, we yow preye,
 And this What man be yee?" ¶ "Sires," quod he certeyn,
 A leech I am and thogh myself it seye,
 Can for the heilthe of seeke folke wel parueye." 509
 the King of the ¶ They seide him "of yondir Castel, the kyng
 Castle is a signe, A lepre is and can heol he for no thyng." 511

(74)

and alle of the - With him ther hath been many a sundry leech 513
 courtiers whi can I þat vnderstode him for to cure and hele
 cure him. to payne of hire heeles but al to seeche
 Hire art was what þat thou nat with him dele,
 But if thou canst the chartre of helthe ensele, 516
 Let þat thou thyne heed leese / as diden they.
 But thou be wys thou fynde it shalt no pley." 518

(75)

Jonathan says ¶ "Sires," seide he "yow thanke I of your need, 519
 for gentilly yee han yow to me qwit;
 But I nat dreede to leese myn heed;
 By goddes help, ful sauf keepe I wole it,
 God, of his grace, swich konnyng & wit 523
 he can cure the hath lent me / þat I hope I shal him cure;
 King. fful wel dar I me putte in auenture." 525

(76)

[leaf 90] They to the kynges presence han him lad;² 526
 He gives the And him, of the fruyt of the second tree
 King fruit of the He yaf to ete / & bad him to be glad,
 2nd tree, And seide anon / "your helthe han shul yee."
 and water of the Eeke of the second watir, him, yaf he 530
 2nd lake, To drynke / and whan he tho two had receyued,
 and cures him His lepre from him / voided was & weyued. 532
 of his leprosy.

¹ Scribble at top, "Item."² Scribble at top and side: "d d d d . . and he idil . . .
 And wise . . Thomas . . Thomas," &c.

(77)

- ¶ The kyng / as vn-to his hy dignitee 533 The King pays
 Conuenient was / yaf him largely,
 And to him seide : " if þat it lyke thee,
 Abyden heere / I more habundantly
 Thee yeue wole " ¶ " my lord, sikirly," 537
 Quod he / " fayn wolde I your pleisir fulfilþ,
 And in your hy presence abyde stille ; 539

(78)

- But I no whyle may with yow abyde, 540
 So mochil haue I to doone elles where."
 ¶ Ionathas euery day to the See syde Jonathas walks
 Which was ny / wente / to looke & enquere seaward,
 If any ship drawynge thidir were, 544
 Which him hoom to his Contree lede mighte.
 And on a day, of shippes had he sighte, 546

(79)

- Wel / a xxxth. toward the Castel drawe ;¹ 547 [leaf 99, back]
 And atte tyme of euen-song they aȝ
 Arryueden / of which he was ful fawe ;
 And to the Shipmen crie he gan & caȝ,
 And seide / " if it so happe mighte & faȝ 551
 þat some of yow, me hoom to my Contree
 Me brynge wolde / wel qwit sholde he be ;" 553

(80)

- And tolde hem whidir / þat they sholden go. 554
 ¶ Oon of the shipmen foorth stirte atte laste,
 And to him seide / " my ship, and no mo
 Of hem þat heere been / hem shape & caste
 Thidir to weende / Let see / tell on faste," 558
 Quod the Shipman / " þat thou for my trauaiȝ
 Me yeue wilt / if þat I thidir saiȝ." 560

¹ Scribble in margin : "Thomas . . Thomas . . Thomas . . Thoma."

(81)

	They were accorded / Ionathas foorth gooth	561
	Vn-to the kyng / to axe of him licence	
	To twynne thens / to which the kyng was looth ;	
The King agrees.	And natheless, with his beneuolence,	
	This Ionathas from his magnificence	565
Jonathas	Departed is / and foorth to the Shipman	
	his way he takith / as swythe as he can.	567

(82)

[leaf 91]	In-to the ship he entrith / & as blyue	568
sets sail,	As wynd and wedir, good shoop for to be,	
	Thidir as he purposid him arryue,	
and lands at the city where the serpentine Feili- cula is,	They saillid foorth / & cam to the Citee	
	In which this serpentyn womman was / shee	572
	That had him terned with false deceitis ;	
	But wherē no remedie folwith / streit is ;	574

(83)

	Tornes been qwit / al be they goode or balde,	575
	Sumtyme / thogh they put been in delay.	
She thinks he's been eaten by wild beastes ;	¶ But to my purpos / shee deemed he hadde	
	Been deuoured with beestes many a day	
	Goon / shee thoghte / he deliured was for ay.	579
and he's so changed that no one knows him.	ffolke of the Citē / kneew nat Ionathas,	
	So many a yeer was past / pat he ther was ;	581

(84)

	Mislykyng & thoght / changed eek his face.	582
	Abouten he gooth / and for his dwellynge	
	In the Citee / he hyred him a place,	
He sets up as a physician,	And ther-in excercysid his konnyng	
	Of phisyke / to whom weren repairyng	586
and cures many sick folk.	Many a seeke wight / and all were helid ;	
	wel was the seek man / pat with him hath delid ! ¹	588

¹ Later scribble in the margin: "In the . . h . . I . . h . . k . .," (each repeated). "This bill made the . . k k . . viz . . This bill made . . This byll made the v day of maye. This biht . . Romane."

(85)

Now shoop it thus / þat this Fellicula—	589	[leaf 91, back]
The welle of deceyuable doublenesse,		Fellicula
ffolwere of the steppes of dalida—		
Was thanne exaltat vn-to hy richesse,		
But shee was fallen in-to greet seeknesse,	593	had fallen ill,
And herde seyn / for nat mighte it been hid,		
How maistreful a leche he had him kid :	595	

(86)

Messages solempne to him she sente,	596	and sends for
Preyinge him to do so mochil labour		Jonathas.
As come and seen hire / and he thidir wente.		
Whan he hir sy / þat shee his paramour		
had been, he wel kneew / and for þat, dettour	600	
To hire he was / hire he thoghte to qwyte		
Or he wente / & no lengere it respyte ;	602	

(87)

But what þat he was / shee ne wiste nat.	603	
He sy hire vryne / & eeke felte hir pous,		He looks at her
And seide / " the soothe is this, pleyne & plat :		urine, feels her
A seeknesse han yee strange & merueilleous,		pulse,
Which for to voide / is wondir dangerous ;	607	
To hele yow / ther is no way but oon ;		and says there's
Leche in this world / othir can fynde noon :	609	only one way to
		cure her.

(88)

" Auysith yow / whethir yow list it take ¹	610	[leaf 92]
Or nat / for y told haue yow my wit."		
¶ " A, Sire," seide shee / " for goddes sake,		She declares she'll
þat way me shewe / and y shal folwen it,		follow it, what-
What-euere it be / for this seeknesse sit	614	ever it is,
So ny myn herte / þat y woot nat how		
Me to demene / telle on, preye y yow."	616	

¹ Later, at top : " Ceste lettre fait le trouceme Ioure de aoulte enstre Iames et moye Poir du vingo 33^u 39^e et demi et quoy et fouct farre, &c (i)." At side : " This biit male the xx^u day of may In the fy[r]st yere of tho rayne of."

(89)

Jonathas says she must confess if she's stolen any thing,	"Lady, yee muste openly yow confesse ;	617
	And if ageyn good conscience & right,	
	Any good han yee take, more or lesse,	
	Before this hour of any maner wight,	
and must restore it;	yilde it anoon / elles nat in the might	621
	Of man is it / to yeue a medecyne	
	pat yow may hele of your seeknesse & pyne.	623

(90)

	"If any swich thyng be / telle out, y rede ;	624
then she'll be well again.	And yee shul been al hool, y yow byheete ;	
	Elles myn art is naght, withouten dreede."	
	"O lord," shee thoghte / helthe is a thyng ful sweete ;	
	Therwith desire y souerainly to meete.	628
	Syn y it by confessioun may rekeuere,	
	A fool am I, but I my gilt deskeuere."	630

(91)

[leaf 92, back]	How falsly to the sone of themperour	631
She confesses how she robd Jonathas.	Jonathas / had shee doon / before hem all,	
	As yee han herd aboue / al pat errour	
	Bykneew shee / o Fellicula, thee call	
	Wel may y so / for of the bittir gall	635
	Thow takist the begynnynge of thy name,	
	Thow roote of malice / and mirour of shame !	637

(92)

	¶ Than seide Jonathas / "where arn tho three	638
	Iewelles / pat yee fro the Clerk withdrow ?"	
His Jewels are in a coffer at the foot of her bed.	¶ "Sire, in a Cofre / at my beddes feet yee	
	Shul fynde hem / opne it / and see, preye y yow."	
	He thoghte nat to make it qweynte and tow,	642
	And seye nay / and streyne courtesie,	
	But with right good wil / thidir he gan hye.	644

(93)

- The Cofre he opned / and hem there fond.¹ 645 Jonathas finds
 Who was a glad man but Ionathas, who? his Jewels there,
 The ryng vp-on a fyngir of his hond
 he putte / and the brooch on his brest also ; puts the Ring
 The clooth eeke vndir his arm heeld he tho, 649 on his finger,
 And to hire him dressith / to doon his cure, the Brooch on his
 Cure mortel / way to hir sepulture. 651 chest,
 and the Cloth
 under his arm.

(94)

- he thoghte, reewe shee sholde, and forthynke² 652 [leaf 93]
 þat shee hire hadde vn-to him mis bore ;
 And of þat watir hire he yaf to drynke,
 Which þat his flessch / from his bones before
 had twynned / wherthurgh he was almoost lore, 656
 Nad he releued been / as yee aboue
 Han herd / and this he dide eeke for hir loue. 658
 In revenge, he
 gives Fellicula
 the hot water

(95)

- Of the fruyt of the tree he yaf hire ete, 659 and the leper-
 Which þat him made in-to the leepre sterte ; fruit.
 And as blyue in hir wombe gan they frete
 And gnawe so / þat change gan hire herte.
 Now herkneth / how it hire made smerte : 663
 Hir wombe opned / and out fil eche entraille They burst her
 That in hire was / thus seith the booke sanz faith. 665 belly open, and
 her bowels fall
 out.

(96)

- Thus wrecchidly, lo / this gyle [wo]man³ dyde ; 666
 And Ionathas, with tho Iewelles three,
 No lengere there thoghte to abyde, Jonathas, with
 his 3 Jewels,

¹ "leyenge" added by a later hand. In the margin are also,
 "Lounyng brother, I dan (!) . . my haryly cuddyr (!) . . p . . all
 . . ifand . . stoope . . This ys Jamys."

² Later, at top: "This bill made the xvij daye of maye In
 the fy[r]st yeare of the Rayne of kyng Edward the syxt, by the
 grace of god, of Ingland, france, and yrelond, kyng."

³ 'guile-y woman died' it must be ; not 'this guile, man did.'

goes back to his
Mother,
and lives in joy
till he dies.

But hoom to themperice, his modir, hastith he,
Where as in ioie and in prosperitee 670
his lyf ledde he / to his dyyng day :
And so god vs graunte þat we do may ! 672

Amen.

[Moralization.]

[leaf 93, back]
The Emperour
is God.
The first Son
is the Angels.

The 2nd Son
is the Patriarchs
and Prophets.

The 3rd Son
is Man.

The Ring is
Faith.

¶ Si habueritis
fidem sicut gra-
num synapis &c

[leaf 94]

The Brooch is
the Holy Ghost.
¶ Mittam vobis
paracletum &c

Themperour þat y spake of aboue, is oure lord god,
þat hath .iiij. sones. ¶ By the firste sone, we
shul vndirstonde Angels / to whiche / god yaf swich
confirmacion þat they may nat synne / for aftir þat the
wikkid Angels fillen : the goode angels so sadly weren
adherent to god, and by him so confermed / þat they
mighten nat synne. ¶ By the second sone, we shul
vndirstonde Patriarks and Prophetes / to whiche god
yaf and bytook the olde lawe / þat is to seye, the lawe
of Moyses / which was meuable / for it changid by the
comynge of Cryst / ¶ To the .iiij. sone, this Emperour
yaf the Iewelles / þat is to seyn, the ryng / the brooch
& the clooth / ¶ By the ryng þat is rownd / We shul
vndirstande feith / which is rownd, withouten obliqueitee
or crookidnesse / and who-so hath the ryng of verray
feith / he shal haue the loue of god and of his angels.
¶ Where-of our Sauueour spekith and seith thus : ¶ " If
yee haue as mochil feith as is the greyn of Senefee ;
yee shuln mowe seye to this hil, passe & go / and it
shal passe " / & therfore he þat hath the ryng of verray
feith : he shal haue al ¹thyng at his lust and plesance.
¶ God yaf also to the Cristen man a brooch / þat is to
seyn, the holy goost / and seyde / " I shal sende to yow
the holy goost, & he shal telle and informe yow of al
þat y seye " / and if we haue the holy goost in oure
hertes / withouten doute we shul han all goodes þat
profyten to the helthe of soule / ¶ Also god yaf to the

Cristen man the .iiij.^{de} Iewel / þat is to seyn, the precious
clooth / this clooth is parfyt charitee / which god
shewid vs in the Crois / he loued vs so mochil þat he
deide for vs / to brynge vs to eternal blisse / therfore
who-so sitteth vp-on parfyt charitee: dowteles he shal
be translated out of this world / vn-to perpetuel reste.

The Cloth is
perfect Charity.

¶ The seid Ionathas may be clept a Cristen man /
which is sliden or fallen in-to synne. ¶ His paramour,
þat is to seyn, his wrecchid flesh, cometh to him and
meetith him / stiryng him to synne / and so he leesith
the ryng of feith / which he receyued & tooke in his
baptema. ¶ Also the brooch, þat is to seyn, the holy
goost, fleeth from hym by cause of his synne. ¶ The

The Paramour is
man's wretched
flesh.

clooth eek is with¹drawen from him, þat is to seye,
parfyt charitee / as² often as he consentith to synne /
and thus the wrecchid man dwellith or abydieth with-
outen help among beestes / þat is to seyn / with the
feend / the world and the flesh. ¶ Do therfore as

[¹ leaf 94, back]

dide Ionathas. ¶ Ryse vp fro thy synne, ryse vp / for
al to longe haast thou slept in the lappe of carnalitee
or fleshlyhede / as it is writen: ¶ "Aryse vp thou
þat sleepest, and y shal enlumyne thee." ¶ Right so
Sampson slepte in the lappe of Dalida, and loste his
strengthe. ¶ Ionathas roos and entred in-to the watir
of penance / which twynneth and disseuerith the flesh,

¶ Surge qui dor-
mis, & illuminabo
te &c

þat is to seyn, fleshly affecciōs / ¶ Aftirward he eet
of the fruyt of sharpnesse / which changed his cheere
in-to the manere of a leepre / as it is red of Cryst:
¶ "we sy him as hauynge no chiere or contenance."
¶ Right so of the soule, which is in bittirnesse for the
wroght offense and synne. ¶ wher-of it is seid in the
figure and liknesse of the soule: ¶ "Blake y am, but y

The hot Water
is Penance.

The 1st tree's fruit
is Sharpnes.

¶ Vidimus eum
tamquam vultum
non habentem &c

¹ Later, at top: "Radufus Wilcokes."

"Ihesus,

"Ihesus, haue mercy vpon vs and this Inglishē nacyon,
which hath bene of christis flock an habitaciōn."

At foot: "Thomas, late Pokes Walere (!)" and some French,
upside down.

¶ *Nigra sum, set
formosa &c¹*
The 2nd Water
is the Holy
Communion.

[¹ leaf 96]

¶ *Ego sum fons;
qui biberit &c*

The fruit of
the 2nd tree is
Reason.

The Ship is the
Church.

The Home is
the Kingdom of
Heaven.

Little poem,
beg Lady West-
morland

to receive you
as her right,
and try to please
her.

am fair" / þat is to seyn, blake in body, and fair in soule. ¶ Ionathas entred the second watir, which restored al, &c. ¶ This watir is the holy communioun aftir penitence, ¶ Wher-of spake oure ¹Sauueour: ²¶ "I am the well / who-so drynkith of þat watir, he shal nat thriste ageyn." ¶ Aftir, this Ionathas eet of the fruyt of the second tree, which restored al þat was lost, þat is to seyn, whan man is glorified in eternal lyf, and helith the kyng, þat is to seyn, resoun. and so he entrieth the ship of the chirche / and to his paramour, þat is to seyn, his flessch, he purueieth watir of contricioun & fruyt of penance and sharpnesse / for which the flessch / þat is to seyn, carnel or flesschly affeccion, sterueth and dieth / and the man purchaceth & getith by penitence the goodes þat were lost / and so he gooth in to his Contree, þat is to seyn, the Regne of heuene: to which, god of his grace brynge vs all. Amen!

G o, smal book¹ / to the noble excellence
Of my lady / of Westmerland / and seye,
Hir humble seruant / with al reuerence
Him recommandith vn-to hir nobleye;
And byseeche hire / on my behalue, & preye,
Thee to receyue / for hire owne right;
And looke thow / in al manere weye
To plesse hir wommanhede / do thy might.

Humble seruant }
to your gracious }
noblesse }

T: Hoccleue.

At foot, later, "Perlegi 1666."

² Later, at top: "Vnto the glorious Resurreccyon of the Body and the lyfe Euer lastyng." At side "radulfus Wilcok . . honerif isnilitatibus . . But, the sayd def (1)."

NOTES.

I.

Extracts from Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* (Mai 1399).—*Œuvres Poétiques* de C. de P. publiées par Maurice Roy. ii. 1—27. Soc. des Anciens Textes Français, 1891.

[The nos. of the English lines are on the left ; those of the French on the right.]

1	Cupido, roy par la grace de lui, Dieu des amans, sans aide de nullui	1
2	Regnant en l'air du ciel très reluissant	
5	Filz de Venus la deesse poissant, Sire d'amours et de tous ses obgiez,	4
6	A tous nos vrais loiaux servans subgiez,	
7	Salut, Amour, Familiarité !	
8	Savoir faisons en generalité	8
11	Qu'a nostre Court sont venues complaints Par devant nous, et moult piteuses plaintes	
9	De par toutes dames et damoiselles,	
10	Gentilz femmes, bourgoises et pucelles, Et de toutes femmes generaument,	12
	Nostre secours requerant humblement . . .	14
11	Si se plaignent les dessusdittes dames,	17
12	Des grans extors, . . des oultrages très griefs, Que chascun jour des desloiaux reçoivent, Qui les blasment, diffament et deçoivent	20
15-16	Sur tous pais se complaignent de France . . .	23
18	Car a present sont plusieurs chevaliers Et escuiers mains duis et coustumiers	33
21	D'elles traïr par beaulx blandissemens.	
18	Si se faignent estre loiaux amans	36
21	Et se cueuvrent de diverse faintise ;	
22-5	Si vont disant que griefment les atise L'amour d'elles, qui leur cuer tient en serre, Dont l'un se plaint, a l'autre le cuer serre,	40
19, 22	L'autre pleure par semblant et souspire,	
25	Et l'autre faint que trop griefment empire	
23	Par trop amer tout soit descoulouré,	
28	Et presque mort et tout alangoré,	44
29	Et jurent fort, et promettent et mentent	
33	Estre loiaux, secrez, et puis s'en vantent . . .	46
41	Ainsi, se trop ne sont aperceües,	99
42	Sont maintes fois les dames deceües.	
41	Car simples sont, n'y pensent se bien non,	

Dont il avient souvent, veullent ou non,	102
42 Qu'amer leur fault ceulz qui si les deçoivent,	
49 Traies sont ains qu'elles l'aperçoivent.	104
50-1 Mais quant ainsi sont fort enveloppées,—	105
57 Les desloiaulz qui les ont attrapées,	
Or escoutez comment ilz s'en cheviissent :	
59 Ne leur souffist ce qu'ainsi les trahissent,	108
57 Ains ont compaigns de leur male alliance ;	
62 Si n'y remaint ne fait ne couvenance	
63 Qui ne soit dit l'un a l'autre, et, trop plus	
Qu'ilz n'ont de bien, se vantent que reclus	112
68 Sont devenus en la chambre leurs dames	
Dont sont amez ; puis jurent corps et ames	
Comment du fait il leur est avenu,	
68 Et que couché braz a braz y ont nu . . .	116
78 Mais s'aucunes attraient en tel guise,	537
80 Quel merveille ? Ne fu pas, par faintise,	
82 Par faulz consaulz, par traïson bastie,	
Par parlemens, engins et foy mentie,	540
81 La grant cité de Troye jadis prise,	
83 Qui tant fu fort, et toute en feu esprise ?	542
Et tous les jours par engins et desrois	
85 Ne traïst on et royaumes et roys ? . . .	544
Et fust ores malicieuse et sage	551
Si n'est ce pas en ce grant vasselage	
89 A homme agu, de grant malice plein,	
90 Qui peine y met comme il en est tout plein.	554
99 La rigolent l'un l'autre, et par reproches	126
Sentredient : " Je sçay bien de tes fais,	
100 " Telle est t'amie, et tu le jolis fais	
102-8 " Pour sienne amour ; mais plusieurs y ont part ;	
104-5 " Tu es receu quant un autre s'en part."	130
Et puis après s'en moquent et s'en vantent,	531
110 Et vont disant que femmes se consentent	
127 Legierement, com legieres et frailles,	
111 Et qu'on ne doit avoir fiance en elles . . .	534
113 La diffament les envieux la belle	131
115 Sanz achoison, ne nul mal savoir d'elle ;	
Et lors celui qui en est rigolé	
Monstre semblant qu'il en soit adoulés . . .	134
120 Si en y a qui se sont mis en peine	147
121 Qu'on les amast, mais perdu ont leur peine ;	
122-3 Si sont honteux dont ilz sont refusé ;	
124 Ne veulent pas qu'on croie que musé	150
Ayent en vain, pour ce de ce se vantent	
126 Qu'oncques n'avint . . .	
134 Et quel profit vient d'ainsi diffamer	165
135 A ceulz meismes qui se deussent armer	
136 Pour les garder, et leur honneur deffendre ?	
138 Car tout homme doit avoir le cuer tendre	

174	Envers femme qui a tout homme est mere . . .	169
148	Et supposé qu'il en y ait de nuyces . . .	185
150	Ou remplies de plusieurs divers vices,	
151	Sanz foy, n'amour, ne nulle loiaulté,	
153	Fieres, males, plaines de cruauté,	
149	Ou pou constans, legieres, variables,	
152	Cautelleuses, fausses et decevables,	190
154	Doit on pour tant toutes mettre en fremaille,	
	Et tesmoignier qu'il n'est nulle qui vaille ?	
155	Quant le hault Dieu fist et forma les angelz . . .	193
156-7	N'en y ot il de mauvais en leurs fais ?	196
160	Doit on pour tant angelz nommer mauvais ? . . .	196
169	Par ces preuves justes et veritables	721
	Je conclus que tous hommes raisonnables	
170	Doivent femmes prisier, cherir, amer,	
175	Et ne doivent avoir cuer de blasmer	
174	Elles de qui tout homme est descendu . . .	725
190	Si se plaignent les dessusdites dames	259
191	De plusieurs clers qui sus leur mettent blasmes,	
	Dittiez en font, rimes, proses et vers,	
192	En diffamant leurs meurs par moz divers . . .	262
197	En vers dient, Adam, David, Sanson,	267
199	Et Salemon et autres a foison,	
198	Furent deceuz par femme main et tart ;	
202	Et qui sera donc li homs qui s'en gart ? . . .	270
204	Ovide en dit, en un livre qu'il fist,	281
206	Assez de maulz, dout je tiens qu'il meffist,	
204-5	Qu'il appella le "Remede d'amours,"	
205	On leur met sus moult de villaines mours,	
	Ordes, laides, pleines de villenie . . .	285
	Si ont les clers apries très leur enfance	291
211	Cellui livret en premiere science	
	De gramaire, et aux autres l'aprenent	
213	A celle fin qu'a femme ainer n'emprenent.	
219	Mais de ce sont folz, et perdent leur peine,	295
220	Ne l'empeschier, si n'est fors chose vaine.	
221	Car, entre moy et ma dame Nature,	
222	Ne souffrerons, tant com le monde dure,	298
224	Que cheries et amées ne soient,	
232	Malgré touz ceulz qui blasmer les voudroient,	
	Et qu'a plusieurs meismes qui plus les blasment	
234	N'ostent les cuers, et ravissent et emblent . . .	302
225	Et aucuns sont qui iadis en mes las	495
227	Furent tenus, mais il sont d'amer las,	
226	Ou par vieillece ou deffaulte de cuer,	
227	Si ne veulent plus amer a nul fuer,	
	Et convenant m'ont de tous pions nyé,	
230	Moy et mon fait guerpy et renié	500
231	Comme mauvais serviteurs et rebelles.	
228	Et telle gent racontent telz nouvelles	
	Communement, et se plaignent, et blasment	
232	Moy et mon fait, et les femmes diffament . . .	504
	Si hé tel gent trop plus qu'autre riens, certes	509

234	Et les paye souvent de leurs dessertes ; Car, en despit de leurs males paroles,	
236	Eulx assorter d'aucunes femmes foles,	512
237,262	De pou d'onneur, males, maurenommées,	
239	Je fais yceulz : de tel gent sont amées . . .	514
	La sont surpris et bien envelopé	517
	Ceulz qui les mieulx cuident estre eschappé.	
263	Comme il affiert sunt tel gent avoyé ;	
245	Si leur est bien tel meschief employé . . .	520
246	D'autres plusieurs, et meismement Ovide	321
	Qui tant en vult, puis diffamer les cuide ;	
247	Et tous les clers, qui tant en ont parlé,	
252	Plus qu'autre gens en furent affolé,	
259	Non pas d'une seule mais d'un millier. . . .	325
274	Li autres dit que moult sont decevables,	271
275	Cautilleuses, faulses et pou valables.	
	Autres dient que trop sont menonggieres,	
279	Variables, inconstans et legieres . . .	274
	Et meismement pouète si soubtil	387
	Comme Ovide, qui puis fu en exil,	
281-3	Et Jehan de Meun ou Romant de la Rose,	
286	Quel long procès ! quel difficile chose ! . . .	390
287	Pour decevoir sanz plus une pucelle . . .	395
291	A foible lieu faut il donc grant assault ?	397
	Comment peut on de près faire grand saut ?	
	Je ne sçay pas ce veoir ne comprendre	
296-7	Que grant peine faille a foible lieu prendre,	400
289	Ne art, n'engin, ne grant soubtiveté.	
295	Dont convient il tout de necessité,	
296	Puis qu'art convient, grant engin et grant peine,	
297	A decevoir femme noble ou villaine,	404
298	Qu'elz ne soient mie si variables,	
299	Comme aucun dit, n'en leur fait si muables ¹ . .	406
302	Que fut jadis Medée au faulz Jason ?	437
303	Trés loialle, et lui fist la toison	
304	D'or conquerir par son engin soubtil,	
	Dont il acquist loz plus qu'autres cent mil . . .	440
308	Par elle fu renommé dessus tous,	441
	Si lui promist que loial ami doulz	
307	Seroit tout sien, mais sa foy lui menti,	
	Et la lascia pour autre, et s'en parti	444
311	Que fu Dido, roïne de Cartage,	
	De grant amour et de loial corage,	
309	Vers Eneas qui, exillé de Troye,	
	Aloit par mer las, despris et sanz joye,	448
312	Presque pery, lui et ses chevaliers ?	
	Recueilli fu, dont lui estoit mestiers	
310	De la belle, qu'il faussement deçut	451
315	Dont a la fin celle, pour s'amistié	459

¹ Hoccleve wisely leaves out Christine's retort that the books against them weren't written by women (609-10); had they been (416), things ud have been diferently put.

Morut de dueil, dont ce fu grant pitié.	460
Si trouvera, se vient a droit jugier,	643
330 Que le plus grant mal puet pou dommagier :	
331 N'occient gent, ne blescent, ne mahignent,	
Ne traisons ne pourchacent n'empregnent,	
334 Feu ne boutent, ne desheritent gent,	
335 N'empoisonnent, n'emblent or ne argent,	648
Ne deçoivent d'avoir ne d'oritage,	
336 N'en faulz contras, et ne portent damage	
333 Aux royaumes, aux duchies, n'aux empires ;	
Mal ne s'ensuit gaires, meismes des pères . . .	652
. . . . elles n'ont pas les cuers	670
Enclins ad ce, ne a cruauté faire ;	
337-40 Car nature de femme est debonnaire, [See also 166-178.]	
346 Mout piteuse, paourouse et doubtale,	
345 Humble, douce, coye, et mout charitable,	674
347 Amiable, devote, en payz honteuse,	
346 Et guerre craint, simple et religieuse,	
341 Et en courroux tost apaise son yre . . .	677
361 . . . mais du decevement	608
351-7 Dont on blasme dame Eve nostre mere,	
354 Dont s'ensuivi de Dieu sentence amere,	610
365-6 Je di pour vray qu'onc Adam ne deçut,	
364 Et simplement de l'anemi conçu	
363 La parole qu'il lui donna a croire,	
Si li cuida estre loial et voire,	614
En celle foy de lui dire s'avance ;	
367 Si ne fut donc fraude ne decepvance	
Car simplece, sanz malice celée,	
367 Ne doit estre decepvance appellée.	618
372 Nul ne deçoit sanz cuidier decepvoir,	
371 Ou autrement decepvance n'est voir.	620
374-5 Quelz grans maulz donc en pevent estre diz ?	
Par desservir n'ont elles paradis ?	
375 De quelz crimes les peut on accuser ? . . .	623
Mais, qui qu'en ait mesdit ou mal escript	559
435 Je ne truis pas en livre n'en escript	
437 Qui de Jhesus parle, ou de sa vie,	
436 Ou de sa mort pourchacée d'envie . . .	562
444 N'euvangile qui nul mal en tesmoigne,	565
Mais maint grant bien, mainte haulte besoigne,	
447 Grant prudence, grant sens, et grant constance,	
Parfaite amour, en foy grant arrestance,	
Grant charité . . . et grant semblant en firent,	569, 71
438 Car, mort ne vif, oncque ne le guerpirent.	
442 Fors des femmes fu de tous delaissé	
Le doulz Jhesus, navré, mort et blecié.	
443 Toute la foy remaint en une femme . . .	575
450 Et se j'ay dit d'elles bien et louenge,	759
451 Comme il est vray, ne l'ay fait par losange	
452 N'a celle fin que plus orgueil en aient,	
453 Mais tout a fin que toudis elles soyent	
454 Curieuses de mieulz en mieulz valoir,	

	Sanz les vices que l'en ne doit avoir ;	764
456	Car qui plus a grant vertu et bonté, En doit estre moins d'orgueil surmonté,	
457-8	Car les vertus si enchacent les vices. Et, s'il est des femmes aucunes nyces,	768
	Cest' Epistre leur puist estre dottrine, Le mal laissent ; les bonnes vueillent en ce	
454	Prendre vouloir d' auoir perseverence,	772
455, 62	Si aront preu, grant honneur, joye et los Et Paradis a la fin, dire l'os.	774
463	Pour ce conclus en diffinicion,	
466-7	Que des mauvais soit fait punicion Qui les blasment . . . si soient tuit	776 777, 779
468	De nostre Court chacié, bani, destruit . . .	780
464	Et COMMANDONS de fait a no maisnie	784
465	Generaument et a noz officiers . . .	785
466	. . . que tous ceuz maubaillis Et villenez soient très laidement	788
467	Injuriez, punis honteusement . . .	790
470	Accompli soit sanz fuire aucun delais.	795
472-3	DONNÉ en l'air, en nostre grant palais, Le jour de May la solempnée feste	
474	Ou les amans nous font mainte requeste,	
475	L' An de grace Mil trois cens quate vins Et dix et neuf, present dieux et divins . . .	800
	CREINTIS [= Cristine].	
	Explicit l' Epistre au dieu d'amours.	828

II.

LETTER OF CUPID, p. 72—91.

COLLATION OF THE ASHBURNHAM MS 53, & SHIRLEY'S
MS TRIN. COLL. CAMB. R. 3. 20, p. 116 &c.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>72/1. comaundementes Sh.
— 4. the mortel A, al mortel Sh.
— 5. the om. A, Sh., citheres sone
 oonly Sh.
— 6. alle A Sh.
— 7. gretying hertly Sh., gretynges
 senden A.
73/8. wole A, wol Sh.
— 9. and A, of Sh.
— 10. esowe Sh.
— 11. Swich A, . . . of F, as Sh.
— 12. doon A, which doone Sh.
— 14. this F, hir A, þe Sh.
— 15. And passyng^t A, . . . on^d F,
 vpon Sh., . . . the litel F,
 this A.
— 18. can . . . dissimulen A.
— 19. on F, in A, Sh.; her F, þeyre
 Sh.
— 20. herte A, feelen Sh.
— 23. and with A, a chere Sh.
— 24. trewely A, truwly Sh.
— 25. in hert that they Sh.; han
 swich A.
— 26. seyne Sh.
— 27. list Sh.
— 28. most Sh.
— 29. seyn A, seyne Sh.
— 30. as doth F, Shewen A.
— 31. Whyles . . . lasten A; last
 . . . or Sh.
— 32. and . . . ech F, in euery A.
— 33. al F, yche A.
74/34. ryght as F, As þat A Sh.;
 lyste F, lykith A.
— 35. moot myn herte A; . . .
 herte I prey Sh.
— 38. worde may non A; non astert
 F, ther noon sterte A.</p> | <p>74/39. reson . . . to F, sholde any
 wight by reson A, reson
 any wight sholde Sh.
— 43. moveth . . . F, women
 meeued of A Sh.
— 44. as þat tho A.
— 45. they graunte F, graunten A,
 Sh.
— 46. that . . . nat F, they nat
 shulden A, that þey shulde
 nat Sh.
— 48. of F, In Sh.; they A, ye F.
— 49. thus A, Sh., and thus F;
 while þees Sh.
— 50. this F, the A Sh.; pot A
 penne F; þus hafe þe
 potte by stele Sh.
— 51. is in his F, of hire hath A.
— 52. kepeth . . . more F, he
 keepith nat A, with her ne
 kepeþe he more Sh.
— 53. after, om. Sh.; fynden A,
 f. owher Sh.
— 55. bestowe so Sh.
— 56. þees men for alle þeyre oopes
 beon harde to leede Sh.
75/59. this woman this traytoure
 Sh., this tr. the w. A.
— 60. faste . . . F, fast him spedeth
 F, spedeth him fast Sh.
— 61. on a lowe F A, ouer throwe
 Sh.
— 62. ne A Sh.
— 63. telleth him Sh.
— 65. to accuse A.
— 66. to . . . selfe F, confesse him
 A; Nowe is þis witte /
 confesse himself thraytour
 Sh.</p> |
|---|--|

- 75/67. a A.
 — 68. tellen how hir body he Sh.; do F, doon A.
 — 69. he . . . him F, to him thus loo Sh.
 — 70. grete esclaundre F Sh., ful greet reproof A; vnto F, boope to Sh.
 — 71. name yet F, nay / yit A.
 — 72. vertu F, pitee . . . it A, goode . . . it Sh.
 — 74. inwardes Sh.
 — 75. sclaunder F, shame A.
 — 76. thanke A, hye thank Sh.
 — 77. whiche . . . helpen Sh.
 — 78. þat men by sl. A Sh.
 — 79. Innocent F, ignorant A.
 — 80. ys . . . sith F A, sith ys Sh.
 — 81. as þat A.
 — 82. om. the Sh.
 76/83. al A Sh.
 — 85. Betrayen A Sh.
 — „ Citees F A, Resumes Sh.
 — 86. is yt . . . shape F, is . . . shape a A Sh.
 — 87. Ageynes false & hid A, A. falsely hidde Sh.
 — 88. suche F, tho A; craftes F A, castes Sh.
 — 89. wytte . . . reddy F, wil ay reedy is A Sh.
 — 90. thinges that sounþe Sh.; hy A, hye Sh.
 — 91. beth F, be A.
 — 92. these F, the A.
 — 93. as A Sh.
 — 94. they A, þey Sh.
 — 96. om. to A.
 — 97. guerdoneth he F, him qwyth A.
 — 98. lytell wote F, Smal witen A, I. knowe Sh.
 — 99. To his felaw an othir wreche A.
 — 100. the hath F, hath thee A.
 — 102. desyrid A.
 — 106. ride F, ride on Sh.
 — 107. whilest Sh.; for, om. A.
 77/108. wol F, can A; with-sey F, sey ney Sh.
 — 109. smertly F, qwikly A; snak' A.
 — 110. thus these F, so the A.
 77/111. so . . . not F, þat . . . oft gyled shal Sh.
 — 112. ay . . . F, For . . . nouel- lerye Sh.
 — 114. self / hyre F, self / here A.
 — 115. Reproof of her he spekth A.
 — 117. dyuers F, sundry A; oft maken Sh.
 — 120. Ful . . . wolde F, For . . . wolde eke Sh.
 — 121. spent his tyme A.
 — 123. hyr pleynty F, his lady A.
 — 124. and F, or Sh.; had A.
 — 127. For euery Sh.
 — 129. leiser han A Sh.
 78/131. on maddynge he . . broght A.
 — 132. he shoulde Sh.
 — 133. which wymmen loven Sh.
 — 134. To F, And Sh.
 — 135. too F, To A.
 — 136. and in F, For þe Sh.
 — 138. yf that F, And if Sh.
 — 139. Al noot he flee þat is to it A.
 — 140. his grete F, ther-to A, mans g. Sh.
 — 141. A foul vice A, Right foule it Sh.
 — 143. men F, man A Sh.
 — 147. these . . . in F, the . . . at A; beth F, been Sh.
 — 148. man . . . a woman Sh.
 — 151. and F, al Sh.
 — 153. and ful F, al ful Sh.
 — 154. that . . . al F, swiche alle A.
 79/156. al . . . were F, alle was A.
 — 158. al men woot F, men wel knownen A.
 — 159. that F, wheche Sh.
 — 161. he that . . . is F, which . . . is moche Sh.
 — 163. yit of hem were goode Sh.
 — 164. fynden A; happen men to fynde Sh.
 — 165. good is for teschuwe Sh.
 — 166. deeme . . . alle A, deme it . . . al Sh.
 — 167. se . . . falsenesse A, se it . . . f. Sh.
 — 168. trusten F A, trust þe Sh.
 — 170. hir F, hem Sh.
 — 171. þe w. hir shap be thikke or ellys Sh.
 — 172. good or badde Sh.

- 79/173. euery m. w. F, For ych wight Sh.
 — 175. ys yt F, hape he Sh.; shame . . . speke F, shame / speke of hir A.
 — 176. forth F, out Sh.
 — 179. be . . . F, þy M. vnto the bee Sh.
 — 180. thou . . . F, man shal honour þee Sh.
 80/181. hir nat F, nat hire A; And d. t. h. in Sh.
 — 182. by F, thurgh A.
 — 183. ys seyde in oure e. Sh.
 — 184. foule F A, beest Sh.
 — 185. that he F, so it A.
 — 186. vseth F, wont is A.
 — 187. wel . . . F, of women wel A.
 — 188. to displeen F, for to despise A Sh; ne F A, and Sh.
 — 189. they wol F Sh., hem list A.
 — 190. These, *om.* A.
 — 191. bokes of hir F, makynges of Sh.
 — 192. dispisen t. w. F, they lakken womenes A.
 — 194. hem yeue A, gyf hem Sh.
 — 196. belowen A.
 — 197. Tho F, þeire Sh.; sory F, wikkid A.
 — 200. may F, koude Sh.
 — 201. done . . . F, edoo and yet Sh.
 — 202. the . . . not F, who may hire by malice A; hir F, þeyre Sh.
 — 203. as that theys F, Not the world A, as that the Sh.
 — 205. reprefe F, villanye Sh.
 81/208. a F A, as Sh.
 — 209. or ryme F, ryme A.
 — 210. he F A, þey Sh.
 — 211. hir F A, þeyre Sh.
 — 213. to loue hem ever to Sh.
 — 214. syn F, sithe Sh.
 — 215. They ^{libel} A.
 — 216. and, *om.* A; suche . . . wrapped F, sweche . . . trapped Sh.
 — 218. No F, Ye no Sh.; thyse F, þat the A.
 — 219. I do F Sh., do we A.
 81/220. labour and trauaille A.
 — 221. betwixt vs A.
 — 222. noon F, nat A, not Sh.
 — 223. these F, *om.* A; cruel F, outrageous A.
 — 225. my F, our A.
 — 226. ytyed F, Tyd A.
 — 228. ys F, nis Sh.
 — 229. they F, *om.* Sh.
 — 231. me . . . my F, vs . . . our, A.
 82/233. myn F, oure A.
 — 234. I F, We A.
 — 243. þoughe that no w. bee ewhette Sh.
 — 244. perayng . . . how F, strokes how sore A.
 — 245. kerve F, brest Sh.
 — 248. as it is knowen wyde Sh.
 — 249. man F, men Sh.
 — 251. koude F, come Sh.
 — 256. they F, in herte they A.
 — 257. this F, tho A, so thees, Sh.
 83/258. oon v. and oþer they were, Sh.
 — 259. thise F, the A; often F, wel oft Sh.
 — 260. thise F. *om.* A.
 — 261. weren nat they / A.
 — 262. as weren F, that wern A.
 — 263. this F, thees Sh.
 — 266. worshippe F, honour A.
 — 267. thise F, tho' A.
 — 272. For v. o. he can abyde Sh.
 — 273. a wight F, oon for A, folkes for Sh.
 — 274. this F, the A.
 — 276. wonne F A, conquerd Sh.
 — 278. refreyne F, restreyne A.
 — 282. occupacion F, opynyoun Sh.
 84/285. Aparaylles for to tellen vp Sh.
 — 286. longe F, large Sh.
 — 288. I . . . my F, we . . . our A,
 „ Nough . . . ne in . . . com-
 prende Sh.
 — 291. shall soo, Sh.
 — 295. moot yt, Sh.
 — 297. for to . . . whateuer Sh.
 — 299. thise F, tho A; feyne F A, seyne Sh.
 — 304. quyt be hir F, þane q. his Sh.
 — 306. this man F, þees men Sh.

- 84/307. hir . . . his F, hem . . .
payre Sh.
— 308. gat him . . . name F, grete
. . . fame Sh.
85/310. wrechch F Sh., man A.
— 311. Vnto Dido whiche Sh.
— 312. smertys F, greenes A.
— 313. han doon F, do A.
— 315. therof F, of it A.
— 316. my . . . may F, our . . . may
men A, þe . . . may men Sh.
— 318. no . . . F, noon / ne byheste
may men, A.
— 319. repreuable F, reproof ne
of A.
— 320. In herte of man / conceites
trewe arn dede A.
hath F, hath now Sh.
— 321. noght F, naght A, barreine
Sh.
trouthe F A, feyth Sh.
— 322. namely yt is F, / is hir vice
A.
nat . . . F, ful wel knowe,
Sh.
— 324. a womans F, wommannes
A, þees wymmens Sh.
— 327. No fors . . . no F, Yee /
strab . . . noon A; no F,
lytel Sh.
— 328. kepe wel . . . what so Sh.
— 331. dystroyen no F, ne d. Sh.
86/335. Folke enpoysons / or h. A.
— 339. To t. A, To al thewes, Sh.
— 341. wel . . . a F, so wel kan þe,
Sh.
— 342. softe A, soft Sh.
— 343. be . . . F, been . . . þe
sygne Sh.
— 344. Wommannes h. to A.
— 347. ful amyable Sh.
— 349. hath not thise Sh.
— 350. Ne . . . nat I, Folwyth
nothing A.
— 351. firste A; nathes F A,
neuer þe leese Sh.
— 352. lese his F, to lese hir Sh.
— 354. heestes F A, heest þoo Sh.
— 355. tasten of a F, to ete of the
A, to tasten of þe Sh.
— 356. ne F, nat A.
— 357. deuol . . . ne F, feend been
/ no more she A, feende
ebee n. she Sh.
- 87/358. penvuous Sh.
— 360. for to F, to A.
— 361. Eve to deceyve Sh.
— 363. noght F, nat A, nade Sh.
— 365. I sey F, we seyn A; goode
Sh.
— 366. ne F A, she Sh.
— 367. may F, cane Sh.
— 368. þat she F, she þee Sh.
— 369. er F, or A.
— 371. calle . . . no F, may not
calle yt Sh.
— 372. yt F, yt first Sh.
— 374. to demen F, for to deeme A.
— 375. she F A, Eve Sh.; this
harme F Sh., þat gilt A.
— 377. hir F, Eves Sh.
— 379. Touchynge which/ A.
— 380. I F, We A.
— 381. that . . . now F, men mowe
A, that men now may Sh.
— 383. This haue A; I F, We A.
88/385. hir hold F, hir holde, A,
holde Eve Sh.
— 391. feende F A, worme Sh.
— 393. this F, þat A Sh.
— 395. slehythes F, sleightes A.
— 396. of F A, hool of Sh.
— 397. from the F, from A Sh.
— 399. him . . . of F A, man . . .
frome Sh.
— 400. to F Sh., fro A.
— 404. that she F A, she cleen Sh.
— 406. hir . . . bore F, hire be
borne A, hir hir be borne
Sh.
— 408. leene F Sh., weyke A.
89/410. preysing F, laude A.
— 411. I sey, F Sh., We Witen A.
— 412. men F, man A Sh.
— 415. that F Sh., it A.
— 416. now . . . good F, it is to
taken A.
— 418. honureth F A, worshiþeþo
Sh.
— 419. al F, alle A Sh.
— 420. and . . . a F, For . . . oft
Sh.
— 421. O F Sh. om. A.
— 422. blood F A, blood heere Sh.
— 423. I F, We A.
— 424. thou F Sh., O A.
— 425. Ouercam A, In ouerkomyng
Sh.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>89/427. Vn-to the feith of God /
holy virgyne A; of God
A, þou goode Sh.
— 428. I F, We A, þat I Sh.
— 429. by F, Oonly by Sh.
— 430. neuer in my F, nat in one
A, not in my Sh.
— 431. euer werre y F, ay We wer-
rey A, euer I werre Sh.
— 432. lo . . . me F, leeueth wel
ye A.
— 434. remembrance We nat may
A.
90/437. maketh F A, made Sh.
— 440. pardee as w. Sh.
— 442. Womman F A, Wymmen
Sh.
— 444. for . . . F, holy wryt thus
Sh.; seyeth F, seith A.
— 445. shul . . . yt shoule so f. Sh.
— 446. I . . . F Sh, it may preened
be ther-by A.
— 447. stable F, al the A.
— 448. the F, al A, om. Sh.</p> | <p>90/451. tolde F Sh., is nat told A.
— 452. or F, ne Sh.
— 455. hir F, þeyre Sh.
— 457. digne . . . noble F Sh., noble
is / and worthy A; in
F A, of Sh.
— 458-60. he F Sh., she A.
91/461. vertu A.
— 463. wol . . . c. F, thus we wolen
conclude A; we F A,
yee Sh.
— 464. yow F A, wol Sh.
— 466. thise F, tho A.
— 467. punissement A.
— 469. in F, ynne A; more F, om.
A; come more F, retourne
Sh.
— 471. that Sh.
— 472. the ayer F, their A, þeyre
Sh.
— 473. Million F A, legyoun Sh.
— 476. and . . . and F A, foure h.
yeres and Sh.</p> |
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III.

JERESLAUS'S WIFE, p. 140-178.

Some Various Readings from MS. Reg. 17 D 6, leaf 99 &c.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>140/1. actes D, Ieestes R.
 — 2. Whilom D, Somtyme R.
 — 3. Iereslaus D, Gerelaus R.
 — 6. Vngarie D, Hungerye R.
 — 15. fourth wole I D, wole I forth R.
 — 16. bed D, bedde R.
 — 17. gan in him D, in hym gan R.
 — 19. left R.
 — 24. hyde fro thee D, from the hide R.
 — 25. Ne nat D, Nor not R.
 141/27. for thy D, therefore R.
 — 32-3. al . . . smal D, att, smatt R.
 — 39. longe to D, long to. I R.
 — 40. abood D, abode R.
 — 44. syn D, sithen R.
 — 53. hire D, to hir R.
 — 54. kiste . . . farewel D, left . . . now farewele R.
 — 55. nat dreedith D, drede not R.
 142/57. and D, the R.
 — 59. the boke kan not R.
 — 61. kepe R, kepte D; R om. out.
 143/86. þat D, no R.
 — 88. R alters this line and puts it for 91.
 — 95. Truste wele it. none other it R.
 — 97. hir, whan he fonde R.
 — 99. sy D, sawe R.
 — 100. Nat . . . stynte D, And that he ne stynte wold R.
 — 102. thempire D, the Empire R.
 — 108. thempire D, this Empire R.</p> | <p>143/109-10. al . . . shal D, att . . . shatt R.
 — 111. vnhad . . . bad D, not hadde . . . badde R.
 144/122. it . . . is D, it is wele known R.
 — 125. vs warante and avowe R.
 — 127. doutith D, dredeth R.
 — 131. anoon areest D, areste anone R.
 — 136. Then thought he thus R.
 145/139. vttirly shatt I R.
 — 144. hye R, hy D.
 — 154. & D, & my R.
 — 156. of . . . deeth D, on myscheuous deeth to R.
 — 163. yf that I wish R.
 146/172. often it happeth. that womans R.
 — 175. did grete harm R.
 — 180. now D, goode R.
 — 181. ryde forth D, now rideth R.
 — 187. sue D, folwe R.
 — 194. shoop D, shope R.
 147/199. ago . . . syn D, ferne agone. . . sithen R.
 — 203. be doon D, I do R.
 — 212. But my lords the Emperour R.
 — 224. help at al D, other helpe R.
 148/225. manaces D, manace ne R.
 — 226. Koth she. of the R.
 — 229. þat this for D, this for an R.
 — 232. left al D, withouten more R.
 — 240. blustred D, blasted R.</p> |
|---|---|

- 148/245. amen R, D. *om.*
 — 246. false D, thou fals R.
 — 248. willy to D, willyng to do R.
 — 250. the D, and worthy R.
 — 251. O foule enemye R.
 149/258. bettidde Reg., betid D.
 — 259. kidde Reg., hid D.
 — 263. I . . . and þat with bold D.
 I wote wele with bolde
 R.
 — 265. go D, ayein go Reg.
 — 266. forth teft D, telle forth R.
 — 267. þat . . . had D, she so hade
 R.
 — 269. Erl D, Erle R.
 — 271. blyue D, futt blive R.
 — 279. the D, this R.
 — 280. quod D, koth R.
 150/281. ferre R, fer D.
 — 297. þat thee list D, the luste to
 R.
 — 307. the D, this R.
 — 308. hire aftir D, after. hir R.
 151/310. lay therl D, as lay the
 Erle R.
 — 313. was . . . This D, Was this
 R.
 — 315. good . . . reft D, goode . . .
 bereft R.
 — 320. herte D, hert to R.
 — 322. holde D, holden R.
 — 324. shal D, may R.
 — 325-6. wilt D, wolt R.
 — 328. sy D, sawe R.
 — 330. fro . . . foorth D, bisily R.
 152/338. bed . . . þat D, bedde .
 where as R.
 — 340. purposid D, purpos and R.
 — 361. him D, he hym R.
 153/366. þat D, that. that R.
 — 370. bed D, bedde R.
 — 371. bybled D, forbledde R.
 — 381. now no lenger R.
 — 383. flayn D, slayn (so in 380) R.
 — 392. that it not so were R.
 154/394. In the D, In aft the R.
 — 396. namely / & D, and namely
 R.
 — 403. He to hir spak R.
 — 409. he deceyued D, deceyued
 he R.
 — 413. qwit last D, hast quytte R.
 — 414. walke forth R.
 — 422. for shee had seide R.
 155/430. broke R.
 — 442. saue D, to saue R.
 156/455. foot D, fete R. [leaf 107]
 — 457. Whidir D, Wherto R.
 — 460. longe his lady fro R.
 — 461. agayn D, ayenst R.
 — 466. how D, that R.
 — 467. shap . . . eek D, and shap .
 and R.
 157/475. & D, nor R.
 — 477. fer D, ferre R.
 — 480. of . . . ne D, or . . . or R.
 — 485. can D, kun R.
 — 490. her . . . thogh D, is her
 nature and yit R.
 — 494. chaunge wole. lest it myght
 hurt R.
 — 499. this D, that R.
 158/509. ga D, go R.
 — 510. Vnto my ladyes In. for she
 R.
 — 521. heere y D, I here R.
 — 526. he seide D, koth he R.
 159/535. wilt so D, wolt now R.
 — 544. in no weertee R.
 — 558. to thyn owne D, vnto thy R.
 160/569. Take goode heede therof
 R.
 — 570. thow D, right R.
 — 571. he than goode. hens forto R.
 — 572. Elles aft thy labour may
 the R.
 — 573. For I wole lede. hir home R.
 — 579. Thow hast hade or this R.
 — 583. yeue D, and yeve me R.
 — 586. had . . . deuel D, hade . . .
 fend R.
 161/590. clothes . . . his D, his
 clothes out of the R.
 — 591. to bye D, forto bey R.
 — 597. Syn þat D, Sithen R.
 — 609. this best is D, this is best R.
 — 616. hire he to the ship D, he to
 the shipman hir R.
 162/626. maad . . . I D, haue I
 made R.
 — 627. That there shaft neuer man.
 so R.
 — 628. thyng . . . outake D, no
 thyng . . . saue R.
 — 632. wel D, this R.
 — 634. middes D, the myddes R.
 — 643. the D, your R.
 163/656. and gan anone R.

- 163/657. she D, and R.
 — 658. Made she. as I shaft to you
 reherce R.
 — 664. deitee D, dignitee R.
 164/675. fil D, shope R.
 — 683. Where. the ladyes R.
 — 689. yaf . . . a D, shope and yafe
 suche R.
 165/703. told haue D, haue tolde R.
 — 712. roop D, rope R.
 — 713. Potagre D, Potakir R.
 — 725. qwyte . . . D, wole you
 quyte R.
 — 726. swich D, suche R.
 — 728. ye shaft it bey fult soure.
 166/732. herd D, herd R.
 — 735. hele wel D, wett hele R.
 — 741. they . . . D, and they haste
 R.
 — 746. deuoutly D, deuoutely R.
 167/757. The Abbesse hir made.
 approche his hye pre-
 sence R.
 — 758. hid D, couered R.
 — 767. about D, aboute R (there).
 — 771. That was the knyght. the
 theef. and the shipman
 R.
 — 777. dirke D, grete R.
 — 782. Be cured. tett on) R.
 — 784. is . . . D, it is. to perseuera.
 168/785. For the fourme R.
 — 795. hool D, hole R.
 — 798. Telle out D, Sey on) R.
 — 803. I . . . D, mercy I you R.
 — 807. he thoghte D, thought he R.
 — 811. þat D, euer R.
 169/813. And how he . . . hade be-
 traide R.
 — 817. been vnpayed D, be delaide
 R.
 — 831. him wolde D, it wold him R.
 — 832. mis D, lakke R.
 170/841. purpos D, tale R.
 — 842. thow dem. D, and demony-
 ake R.
 — 847. han . . . D, the grounde
 haue R.
 — 848. sharp D, sharpe R.
 — 852. confesse D, to confesse R.
 — 863. And betooke hir. the charge
 and the cure R.
 — 864. a D, his R.
 — 866. there a mis D, a wikked R.

- 171/872. euere D, ay R.
 — 873. vnto . . . D, to my luste nor
 R.
 — 878. the D, this R.
 — 881. And thynke. that no wight
 elles R.
 — 882. this D, that R.
 — 889. Whan that I for my gilte R.
 — 893. of D, for R.
 — 895. where I dede shuld haue
 be R.
 — 896. lyf D, gilt R.
 172/897. as D, was R.
 — 898. hy D, hir R.
 — 900. Betraide I hir R.
 — 901. him . . . D, Shope hym . . .
 delavce R.
 — 902. fer D, forthe R.
 — 904. a . . . I D, a faire gentitt
 lady I R.
 — 906. haue hire D, hir haue R.
 — 912. haf . . . claf D, hafe . . .
 clafe R.
 — 923. On . . . seide D, On curteys
 height. right R.
 173/925. haue of me D, taken R.
 — 927. seeknesse . . . his D, desese
 . . . her R.
 — 939. wrecche D, man R.
 — 941. kus D, cosse R.
 — 946. Inow thus D, is at an R.
 — 947. vnto his Paleys D, to his
 paleys goth R.
 — 948. good. lady the Emperice.
 with hym gan wende R.
 — 949. lyuened D, ledde her lyfe R.
 — 950. his D, the R.
 — 952. list D, wole R.
 MS. Reg. 17 D vi. leaves out page
 174.
 175/16. the rather D, the r. and the
 sonner R.
 — 17. scripture D, writte R.
 — 22. & makynge D, þat maken R.
 — 27. whereof D, wherfore R.
 176/14. hukyng D, Wirkyng R.
 — 30. soule wole D, soules wolen R.
 177/4. vp so down D, bakward R.
 — 26. the feend D, þis world R.
 — 34. torned D, turneth R.
 178/2. infest D, effect R.
 178. R. has in margin 'Discipulus.
 Cum omnes homines n.
 a. d . . .'

- | | |
|--|--|
| 178/15. so D, to R.
179/23. lerne to dye R.
— 33. But telle me this. herof wold
I lere R.
— 34. R adds to Latin 'moriendi
cum mors mon habitus
set priuacio esse nos-
catur.'
— 38. swetnesse D, richesse R. | 179/41. me D, me so R.
— 45. ay. wote he futt wett R.
180/54. hire D, hym R.
— 57. many oon D, hym R.
— 72. led away D, awey haue ledde
R
— 74. vnto . . holde D, to that lord
yhold R. |
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(*Collation incomplete.*)

GLOSSARY.

BY MR. THOMAS AUSTIN.

- Aart, *sb.* art, 13/150, 26/32.
 Abiect, *pp.* cast off, 222/199.
 Abstinence, *sb.* putte in a., forbear from, 154/406.
 Acat, acate, *sb.* purchase, 31/181, 70/100.
 Accomplice, *vb. t.* accomplish, 152/341.
 Adawid, *pp.* adawed, awakened, 153/369.
 Affese, *vb. t.* scare, 233/482.
 Affesid, *pp.* scared, 229/379.
 Affoorthe, *vb. t.* bestow, 217/46.
 Ageyn, *prep.* before, in presence of, 166/745.
 Aght, aught, 22/440, 82/252.
 Agilt, *vb. int.* sin, 69/64, a-gylte, 108/366; *v. t.* sin against, 17/270, 168/804.
 Agrysid, *pp.* terrified, 196/476.
 Alleggen, *vb. t.* alleviate, 6/198.
 All halwen day, *sb.* All Souls' Day (Nov. 1), 212/926.
 Almesse, *sb.* alms, 194/424.
 Amonestyng, *sb.* warning, 208/820.
 Apalle, *vb. int.* slacken, 98/74.
 Appert, *adj.* apert, open, 33/270.
 Arettist, *vb. t.* imputest, layest, 12/113.
 Arghnesse, *sb.* timidity, reluctance, 38/435.
 Arte, *vb.* compel, constrain, 37/396, 62/8.
 Aspen, *adj.* trembling, 63/17.
 Asseeth, *sb.* expiation, penance, 196/482.
 Assoill, *vb. t.* grant, 222/182.
 Atake, *vb.* overtake, 148/239.
 Attame, *vb. t.* atame, subdue, 10/45.
 Attē = at the, 195/460, 196/486.
 Attempre, *adj.* temperate, 40/13.
 Auriculeer, *adj.* auricular, 11/81.
 Aweertee, *sb.* cautiousness, O. Fr. *averti*, 159/544.
 Baar, *vb. t.* bare, 8/241.
 Bake, *sb.* back, 29/127.
 Bapteeme, *sb.* baptism, 9/38.
 Bayte, *vb. t.* refresh, 15/206.
 Beer, *vb. t.* bare, *imp. tense*, 1/44.
 Begilt, *pp.* ? deluded, 192/372.
 Begone, *pp.* well b., prosperous, 95/11; *were* begoon, worse beset, 231/445; *comp.* woe-begone.
 Bete, *vb. t.* beat; 'bete this pavyment' (pavement), 102/186. *Compare* Fr. *battre le pavé*.
 Bille, *sb.* bill of a bird, 44/42.
 Bit, *vb.*, bad, 34/280, 229/376.
 Blent, *pp.* blinded, 225/280.
 Blyue, *adv.* quickly, 4/125, 34/280.
 Bobance, *sb.* boasting, 190/321.
 Bolne, *vb. int.* swell, rise, 172/913.
 Bolnyng, *pp.* bolning, swelling, 10/49.
 Boncheef, *sb.* good fortune, prosperity, 221/172.
 Bote, *sb.* cure, 97/49.
 Brede, *sb.* in b., abroad, 10/70.
 Breeth, *sb.* breath, 2/80.
 Breid, *sb.* braid, attack, 182/115.
 Brid, *sb.* bird, 80/184.
 Brigge, *sb.* bridge, boat-stairs, 31/194: *cp.* 'y^e Quenes bredg' and 'Preny bredg' at Westminster, in Braun and Hogenberg's map of 1572.
 Broke, *sb.* brook, 100/152.
 Brydillees, *adj.* brideless, 27/78.
 Brygelees, *adj.* brideless, without dispute, 13/164.

- Bukkyshe, *adj.* flighty, skittish, unsettled, 99/123.
 But, *conj.* unless, 27/57, 190/326.
 Bybled, *pp.* bebled, bloody, 7/230.
 Bye, *vb. t.* aby, pay for, suffer for, 165/728.
 Byheete, *vb. int.* promise, 226/302, 238/625.
 Bykneew, *vb. t.* confessed, 238/634.
 Bymeneth, *vb. t.* bemoan, bewail, *imper.* 7/231.
 Bynome, *pp.* of *benim*, taken away from, 6/189.
 Bytake, *vb. t.* hand over, 156/452.
 Calate, *sb. f.* drab, quean, 13/147.
 Cape, *vb. int.* gape, A., 191/350.
 Careyne, *sb.* carcass, O. Fr. *caroine*, 189/306.
 Cast, *sb.* intention, 191/348.
 Cheertee, *chiertee*, *sb.* affection, 22/433, 40/21, 137/777, 205/710, 219/87; comfort, 48/32.
 Chek, *sb.* check, at chess, 184/161.
 Chepe, *vb. t.* buy, 216/13.
 Cheuice, *vb.* provide, provide for, 28/101, 34/285.
 Cheuissance, *sb.* achievement, *comp. vb.* *cheuis*, Cursor M. l. 8329, 132/621.
 Chinchy, *adj.* niggard, 29/136.
 Chyldly, *adj.* childly, childish, 27/64.
 Citein, *sb.* citizen; *comp.* Fr. *citoyen*, 202/627.
 Clappe, *vb.* chatter, 21/396, 37/394, 40/37, 127/489.
 Clee, *sb.* claw, 191/345.
 Clight, *pp.* clenched, 182/124.
 Cloudeful, *adj.* cloudy, dark, black, 55/109.
 Cokir, *sb.* high-low, 190/312.
 Combroworldes, *sb.* cumberworlds, useless mortals, 32/225.
 Complayne, *vb. t.* complain of blame, Fr. *se plaindre*, 36/342, 57/17.
 Conceitless, *adj.* ignorant, 232/458.
 Conpaignie, *sb.* company, attendants, companionship, 149/260, 151/329, 164/683.
 Compassid, *vb.* compassed, devised, 151/330.
 Conpel, *vb. t.* compel, 26/30.
 Conpleyne, pity, Fr. *plaindre*, 36/341.
 Conpunct, *pp.* touched with compunction, 199/562.
 Constance, *sb.* constancy, Fr. *constance*, 157/488.
 Cotidian, *adj.* quotidian, daily, Lnt. *quotidianus*, 26/25.
 Couyne, *sb.* scoundrelism, 9/21. 'Il en sçait bien toute la courine. Hee is well acquainted with thine pucking; he knows full well how the matter hath beene carried.' 1611. Cotgrave.
 Cristientee, *sb.* Christendom, O. Fr. *crestiente*, 156/453.
 Crois, *sb.* cross, Fr. *croix*, 5/149.
 Cure, *sb.* care, heed, 81/219.
 Daswed, *pp.* dazed, 57/9.
 Deceyuable, *adj.* deceitful, 237/590.
 Deeth, *sb.* death, 5/162.
 Delauee, *adj.* O. Fr. *deslavé*; washed away (Cotgrave), loose, lawless, 172/901.
 Deliure, *vb. t.* deliver, 154/412, 161/590.
 Demoniak, *sb.* one possessed with a devil, 170/843.
 Depraue, *vb. t.* speak ill of, scandal, slander, 30/171.
 Dere, *vb. t.* hurt, harm, 107/348.
 Dereworthe, *adj.* precious, 195/448, 197/498.
 Deskeuere, *vb.* discover, let out, 150/283.
 Despende, *vb. t.* dispend, expend, spend, 8/244, 38/415, 187/239.
 Despense, *sb.* dispense, laying out, liberality, 36/342.
 Desteyned, *pp.* sullied, 36/340.
 Dever, *sb.* devoir, duty, 158/531.
 Dewynge, *sb.* dewing, moistening, 5/158.
 Deynouse, *adj.* proud, 78/150.
 Diadeeme, *sb.* diadem, 15/232.
 Do forth, keep on, 41/15.
 Doel, *sb.* dole, pity, O. Fr. *doel*, Fr. *deuil*, 5/153.
 Doghtir, *sb.* daughter, 150/296, 152/339.
 Dokke, *vb. t.* cut off, kill, 159/541.
 Dotepol, *sb.* dodipoll, fool, 217/49.

- Doubleness, *sb.* deception, 73/21, 237/590.
 Dreche, *vb.* vex, 106/308.
 Dress, *dresser*, *vb.* *t.* direct, bend, 160/588, 164/691, 210/856.
 Drye, *vb.* *t.* suffer, 196/474.
 Doumb, *adj.* Prov:—'the dounb man, no lond getith,' i. e. one must speak, if one wants anything, 38/433.
 Dyuyse, *vb.* devise, 24/511.
 Eerly, *adv.* early, 31/180, 62/21.
 Eerthe, *sb.* earth, 3/106, 5/148, 22/428.
 Eerthely, *adj.* earthly, 17/292, 297, 200/586.
 Egal, *adj.* equal, Fr. *egal*, 5/168; egall, 115/156.
 Eilid, *vb.* ailed, 9/25.
 Enable, *vb.* *t.* make fit for, 17/272.
 Enchantour, *sb.* enchanter, deceiver, 32/225.
 Enchesoun, *sb.* cause, reason, O. Fr. *encheson*, 48/18, 54/61, 89/429.
 Enhabit, *vb.* *t.* set as inhabitant, 17/280.
 Ensaumple, *vb.* *t.* give example to, 66/64, 131/604.
 Ensele, *vb.* *t.* enseal, seal, 234/516.
 Entaille, *sb.* entail, intaglio, 21/410.
 Entaillid, *pp.* unalterably attached, 157/488.
 Enteer, *adj.* entire, 50/29.
 Eschu, *adj.* shy, O. Fr. *eschin*, 21/403.
 Eschue, *vb.* *t.* avoid, O. Fr. *eschever*, 6/193, 14/192, 32/216.
 Esmaye, *vb.* *t.* dismay, 207/774.
 Estaat, *sb.* estate, 38/430.
 Estren, *sb.* Easter, 176/25.
 Euenhede, *sb.* evenness, fairness, 177/3.
 Exaltat, *pp.* exalted, 237/592.
 Exaudicioun, *sb.* pardon (i. e. God hearing him), 44/30.
 Exitynge, *sb.* exciting, urging, 118/234.
 Fallace, *sb.* outrage, O. Fr. *fallace*, 150/283, 226/298.
 Fael, *sb.* flattery, O. Fr. *favel*, 31/211, 32/223, 33/244.
 Fawe, *adj.* fain, 182/124, 235/549.
 Feendly, *adj.* fiendly, devilish, 149/253, 152/340.
 Feerr, in, in company, together, 229/371.
 Felawshipe, *sb.* fellowship, company, retinue, 148/239.
 Femel, *adj.* female, Fr. *femelle*, 216/13.
 Ferdful, *adj.* fearful, timid, 45/47.
 Fern, *adv.* far, long, 31/196, 147/199.
 Fet, *pp.* fetched, 203/663.
 Feynier, *sb.* appeaser, stayer, 52/12.
 Feynyngly, *adv.* feigningly, 191/359.
 Ficche, *vb.* *t.* fix, 40/9, 45/72, 53/45.
 Flaumbes, *sb.* flames, O. Fr. *flambe*, 197/513, 204/699.
 Foleie, fuleye, *vb.* *int.* act foolishly, be stupid, play the fool, 49/47, 50/46, 163/651.
 Foltyshe, *adj.* foolish, 104/243, 115/147.
 Folwe, *vb.* *t.* follow, 68/23.
 Foreward, *sb.* bargain, 230/405.
 Forthynke, *vb.* repent, 239/652.
 Forthoghte, *vb.* *t.* repented, 10/59.
 Forueye, *vb.* *int.* go out of the path, stray, Fr. *fourvoyer*, 49/44, 69/79.
 Fournays, *sb.* furnace, Fr. *fournaise*, 196/493.
 Foryite, *vb.* *t.* forget, 134/672.
 Foyssoun, *sb.* foison, abundance, Fr. *foison*, 8/244, 10/71.
 Francesie, *sb.* frenzy, Fr. *frénésie*, 165/715.
 Freend, *sb.* friend, 26/46.
 Fretynge, *adj.* fretting, vexing, 213.
 Frete, *vb.* *int.* fret, devour, 239/661.
 Fructifie, *vb.* *int.* be fruitful, 178/17.
 Fructuous, *adj.* fruitful, 57/11.
 Fyn, *sb.* fine, end, Fr. *fin*, 2/59.
 Fynt, *vb.* finds, 180/68.
 Gabbe, *vb.* *int.* lie, comp. O. Fr. *gaber*, 159/540.
 Galwe tree, *sb.* g'bbet, 155/436; galwes, 177/7.
 Gaste, *vb.* *t.* aghast, frighten, 200/597.
 Gastful, *adj.* ghastly, dreadful, 203/669, 204/687.
 Gastness, *sb.* fearful state, 44/27.
 Genterie, *sb.* gentleness, kindness, courtesy, 164/684.

- Gere, *sb.* gear, 13/159.
 Girt, *pp.* thurgh g., struck through, 230/388.
 Gleede, *sb.* glede, glowing coal, 30/159.
 Gole, *sb.* al thy gole — ? all that is in thy mouth, *Fr. gueule*, 159/545.
 Goos, *sb.* goose; *Prov.* 'shoo the goos,' 19/337. *Ferrer les oyes.* To spend both time and labour verie vainly. 1611. *Cotgrave.*
 Gouvernail, *sb.* governance, 150/300.
 Gouvernesse, *sb. f.* governess, 150/298.
 Graine, *vb. t.* vex, 43/57.
 Grede, *vb. t.* cry for, 47/109; call, 50/36, 116/173.
 Gree, *sb.* recompense, *O. Fr. gre*, 204/694.
 Greeuable, *adj.* grievous, 182/111.
 Greeues, *sb.* griefs, 3/90.
 Grownde, *vb. t.* ground, base (as groundwork), 66/46.
 Grype, *vb. t.* grip, get, 104/265.
 Gye, *vb. t.* guide, 6/207, 53/49, 155/433.
 Haan, *han*, *vb.* have, 3 *sing.* 197/523, 198/524-7.
 Haast, *vb.* hast, 7/211, 8/7, 192/372.
 Huaste, *vb. int.* haste, 31/208, 166/741, 190/330.
 Haf, *vb. int.* heaved, 172/912.
 Hulke, *sb.* recess, 20/382; *dirke* hulke of Helle, 23/478; 100/133.
 Hals, *sb.* neck, 165/712.
 Hawe, *sb.* haw, 'not worth an h.' (used like straw), trifle, 37/380, 67/20.
 Heedlynge, *adv.* headlong, hastily, 133/647.
 Heeng, *vb. int.* hung, 149/274, 164/696.
 Heer, *sb.* hair, 170/860.
 Heetith, *vb. t.* promise, 68/40.
 Helply, *adj.* helping, 197/508.
 Hente, *vb. t.* seize, 203/675.
 Heolly, hoolly, *adv.* wholly, 3/109, 112.
 Herkne, *vb. t.* hearken to, 179/22.
 Herne, *sb.* nook, recess, 20/382.
 Hertly, *adj.* hearty, 72/7.
 Hidles, *in*, secretly, slyly, *Fr. en tapinois*, covertly, closely, secretly (*Cotgrave*), 202/645.
 Hokir, *sb.* scorn, 136/741, 189/310. The gloss has app. 'loathsomeness,' in last case.
 Honure, *vb. t.* honour, 21/412.
 Housbonde, *vb. t.* husband, 68/24.
 In, *sb.* house, dwelling, 156/458, 158/513.
 Inconparablély, *adv.* incomparably, 6 syll., 187/257.
 Inne, *vb. t.* take in, house, 156/459, 469.
 Inpudence, *sb.* shamelessness, 27/62.
 Issynge, *sb.* issuing, exit, comp. *O. Fr. issuer*, 202/629.
 Kakele, *vb. int.* cackle, chatter, 12/148.
 Keepe, *vb. int.*, heed, reck; *weepe*, A.; 185/183.
 Kerfe, *sb.*, wake of ship, 185/203.
 Kneew, *vb.* knew, 26/44.
 Knyf, *sb.* leyd his k., set his knife by me, sat by me, 28/112.
 Konnynge, *adj.* clever, skilful, 166/732.
 Kus, *sb.* kiss, 2/75, 30/155, 173/941.
 Kut, *sb.* luck, lot (bit of cut stick), 138/789: 'the cut fil to the Knight.'—*Cant. Tales*, *Prol.* 845.
 Kythe, *vb. t.* make known, bestow, show, 4/120, 38/406, 42/42, 81/224.
 Laach, *adj.*, lax, *O. Fr. lasche*, *Fr. lâche*, 188/267.
 Labbe, *sb.* blab, blabber, 159/542.
 Lache, *vb. int.* be lax, or remiss, 191/362.
 Laddre, *sb.* ladder: charity the ladder to heaven, 8/1.
 Lagh, *sb.* scot, score, 65/33.
 Lame, *adj.* lacking, wanting, 10/47, 70/90.
 Large, *adj.* liberal, *Fr. large*, 40/16; 'at our large,' in freedom, 43/8.
 Leantee, *sb.* good faith, *O. Fr. leaute*, 212/922.
 Leene, *adj.* lean, poor, 88/408.
 Lœpre, *sb.* leprosy, 166/740, 167/763.

- Leepre, *sb.* leper, 164/698.
 Let seen, *interj.* let us see! come! 66/64, 211/883.
 Lewde as an asse, ignorant as an ass, 19/352.
 Light, *sb.* 'stand in own l.', *fig.* 194/440.
 Lightlees, *adj.* lightless, unenlightened, 28/88.
 Lineree, *sb.* livery, 'of St. George's l.' a true knight, 42/54.
 Loken, *pp.* closed, locked, 151/334.
 Lokir, *sb.* locker, 190/313.
 Loos, *sb.* praise, reputation, O. Fr. *los*, 36/345, 167/494.
 Loos, *sb.* loss, 173/945.
 Losengeour, *sb.* losenger, flatterer, 32/220.
 Lowe, *sb.* flame, 75/61, 204/703.
 Lyme, *vb.* *t.* lime with birdlime, 33/244.
 Lyn, *vb.* *int.* lie, 5/157.
 Lyte, *adj.* lite, little, 21/400; 'a lyte and lyte,' by little and little, 28/92, 231/427.
 Maad, *pp.* made, 9/17; 'maad hath thy berd,' deceived thee; comp. Fr. *faire la barbe à*, 231/433. *Faire barbe de fouarre à.* To deceive, delude, abuse. 1611. Cotgrave.
 Macche, *sb.* match, 34/307.
 Madde, *vb.* *int.* act madly, 232/453.
 Mafey, *interj.* Bless me! Fr. *Ma foi*, O. Fr. *Ma foi*, 111/41.
 Maistrie, *sb.* mastery, masterpiece, wonderful thing, O. Fr. *maistrie*, 164/676.
 Maistrieth, *vb.* masters, overcomes, comp. O. Fr. *maistre*, 65/35.
 Make, *sb.* mate, companion, 74/57.
 Manly, *adj.* human, like a man, 167/783.
 Marchandie, *sb.* merchandise, L. Lat. *merchandia*, 158/511.
 Martire, *sb.* martyrdom, Fr. *martyre*, 97/63.
 Martree, *sb.* torment, torture, 1/55.
 Mate, *vb.* *t.* overwhelm, crush, 62/23.
 Maugree, *sb.* ill-will, blame, 138/795; *mawgree*, 87/376.
 Mediatrice, *sb.* *f.* mediatrix, 16/256, 44/14.
 Meede, *sb.* meed, reward, 177/20.
 Meermaide, *sb.* mermaid, 32/236.
 Mees, *sb.* messuages, O. F. *mès*, 86/334.
 Meetre, *vb.* metre, 50/48.
 Merciable, *adj.* merciful, 190/335.
 Mesel, *adj.* leper, metaph., 168/797.
 Meselrie, *sb.* leprosy, metaph., see *adj.*, 167/763.
 Menlumyne, *vb.* enlumine (illumine) me, 53/37.
 Mescreance, *sb.* misbelief, O. Fr. *mescreance*, 42/50.
 Messageer, *sb.* messenger, messenger, 120/293; messenger, 120/290.
 Miry, *adj.* merry, 23/487.
 Mis gyed, *pp.* misguided, 32/228; 'mis' belongs also to 'led'.
 Mischeeue, *vb.* *int.* mischieve, be unfortunate, 165/724, 198/544: written separately in first case.
 Mis-tyden, *vb.* happen ill, 133/644.
 Modir, *sb.* mother, i.e. the church, 40/25.
 Moustre, *vb.* *t.* muster, shew, 50/26.
 Mowled, *pp.* become mouldy, 52/3.
 Myhellesse, *sb.* Michaelmas, 95/2.
 Mynge, *vb.* *t.* touch, call to mind, mention, 21/424, 112/52, 125/429.
 Myrith, *vb.* *t.* sets in the mire, 36/355.
 Nad, had not, 41/18, 169/818; nadde, 180/72; nade, 86/357.
 Naght, nought, 17/288.
 Nake, *vb.* *t.* strip, 86/353.
 Nappe, *vb.* *int.* take a nap, 231/423.
 Nart = art not, 1/48.
 Nas = ne was, was not, 67/11, 183/149.
 Neede, *sb.* Prov. 'Neede (necessity) hath no lawe,' 39/437.
 Nere, *vb.* ne were, were not, 114/130, 148/242.
 Nightirtale, *sb.* nightertale, nighttime, 34/306.
 Nobleye, *sb.* nobility, grandeur, 15/217, 48/42.
 Nones, *sb.* nones tyde, noontide, 4/135.
 Noot, *vb.* ne wot, know not, 171/886.
 Norture, *sb.* breeding, 170/865.
 Nouelrie, *sb.* novelty, novelty, 26/38.

- Nusance, *sb.* hurt, damage, 150/308.
 Nyce, *adj.* fastidious, hard to please, 78/148.
 Nycetee, *sb.* nicety, O. Fr. *niceté*, simplicity or simpleness (Cotgrave), 49/17; stupidity, 147/208.
 Obliquitee, *sb.* obliquity, bias, falsity, 240.
 On, *prep.* over, 49/43; occupied with, 149/268.
 One, *vb.* *t.* unite, 181/82; oned, *pp.* united, 176.
 Onhede, *sb.* onehead, unity, 160/576, 213.
 Ore, *sb.* mercy, 110/5.
 Ouersy, *vb.* *t.* oversaw, perused, 174/6.
 Outake, *pp.* except, 162/628.
 Oute, *vb.* *t.* utter, 217/43.
 Outrance, *sb.* last gasp, 2/82, 42/36, 68/48.
 Outrayed, *pp.* deleted, blotted out, 17/279.
 Owter, *sb.* outer, utterer, 49/17.
 Paart, *sb.* part, share, 3/104, 13/152.
 Palesie, *sb.* palsy, 165/705.
 Pamflet, *sb.* pamphlet, poem, book, 49/1.
 Paramont, *adj.* (French), above (like *en amont*), 8.
 Parformed, *pp.* performed, 55/91.
 Partie, *sb.* party (*en champ clos*), duel, 134/691.
 Payndemayn, *sb.* 'pain de main,' small fine bread, cake, or biscuit: 'not worth a p.', 123/383.
 Peis, *sb.* weight, 108/360, 113/105.
 Penylees, *adj.* pennyless, 29/130.
 Permanable, *adj.* permanent, 207/767.
 Peyse, *vb.* *int.* weigh, 112/54.
 Picchid, *pp.* thrown, 206/760.
 Piler, *sb.* pillar, 41/13, 192/381.
 Pit, *sb.* grave, 28/95.
 Pith, *sb.* strength, 20/392.
 Pleneer, plener, *adj.* full, 196/480, 227/323.
 Plenteuous, *adj.* plentiful, 158/507.
 Possid, *pp.* pushed, 204/701.
 Potagre, *adj.* gouty, 166/713.
 Potestat, *sb.* prince, great man, potentate, 142/68, 214.
 Pouert, *sb.* poverty, 177.
 Pows, *sb.* pulse, Fr. *pouls*, 203/660.
 Prayeere, *sb.* prayer, 22/446.
 Preciouste, *sb.* preciousness, value, costliness, 187/241, 207/783.
 Preide, *vb.* prayed, 10/56.
 Principat, *sb.* prince, 214.
 Priuee, *adj.* sequestered, private, 147/201.
 Processa, *sb.* suit, pleading, 74/43.
 Promette, *vb.* promise, 168/802.
 Prosperable, *adj.* prosperous, 182/112.
 Prosperitee, *sb.* Prov.: 'Prosperitee is blynd, & see ne may,' 26/34.
 Pryuynge, *sb.* priving, annihilation, 179/35.
 Purchase, *vb.* *t.* get, 197/500.
 Pyke, *vb.* *t.* pick, & thank, 154/399; *pp.* 221/164.
 Pyne, *vb.* *t.* punish, 196/492.
 Queinte, *adj.* quaint, notorious, 110/15, *quette*, below; queynt, cunning, 78/152.
 Queine, *vb.* make placable, appease, 74/39, 109/397: qweeme, 9/40.
 Ragerie, *sb.* rage, 223/221.
 Redde, *vb.* *t.* advised, 28/105.
 Reed, *sb.* advice, 28/108.
 Reedy, *adj.* ready, 166/738.
 Reewe, *vb.* *int.* rue, have pity, 7/238, 12/131, 207/769; repent, 23/467.
 Refut, refuyt, *sb.* refuge, Fr. *refuite*, 63/6, 53/42, 68/41.
 Regne, *sb.* kingdom, 242.
 Regne, *vb.* *int.* 'Regne on' = reign over, 49/43.
 Reme, *sb.* realm, 86/333.
 Reparatrice, *sb.* *f.* renewer, Fr. *reparatrice*, 88/403.
 Rere, *vb.* *t.* rear, raise, 20/388.
 Respyt, *sb.* put in r. = put off, 67/19.
 Rode, *sb.* road, 76/102.
 Rogged, *vb.* *int.* shook, pulled roughly, comp. Sc. *rag*, 152/355.
 Rood, *vb.* *int.* rode, 149/268.
 Roop, *sb.* rope, 165/712.
 Roost, *sb.* roast, 36/363.
 Rowne, *vb.* round, whisper, 11/93.
 Rownyngly, *adv.* roundly, in the ear, 30/172.

- Sad, *adj.* settled, firm, 123/366.
 Sadde, *vb. int.* get sober, 222/175.
 Salut, *adj.* safe, 59/22.
 Sanz, *prep.* sans, without, 172/903.
 Sauer, *sb.* saver, saviour, 52/10.
 Sauf, *prep.* save, 154/405.
 Sauuacioun, *sb.* salvation, 45/53, 56/135.
 Sauueour, *sb.* saviour, 22/428, 52/25.
 Sawte, *sb.* saut, jump, *Fr. saut*, 101/162.
 Say, *vb. t.* saw, 153/378.
 Scars, *adj.* scarce, scanty, 16/243.
 Seeche, *sb.* seek, 234/514.
 Seege, *sb.* siege, 14/197.
 Senefee, *sb.* mustard, *Gr. sinapi*, 240.
 Sent, *sb.* scent, 149/272; 'by the sent,' by the perception, 170/850.
 Seur, *adj.* sure, *Fr. sur*, 48/14, 149/259.
 Shadwe, *sb.* shadow, 67/12.
 Shamely, *adv.* in a shameful way, 2/84.
 Sheelde, *vb.* shield, preserve, 165/711.
 Sheete, *vb. t.* shoot, 58/15.
 Shenshipe, *sb.* blame, punishment, 44/35.
 Shippe, *sb.* coin stamped with ship, noble = 6s. 8d., 65/29.
 Shipbord, *sb.* shipboard, 162/617.
 Shit, *pp.* shut, 13/151.
 Shone, *vb. t.* shun, 6/193.
 Shoo, *sb.* 'trode hir s. amis,' *fig.* 218/66.
 Shoop, *vb.* shaped, happened, 146/194, 151/332, 164/689; *app. v. tr.* in last instance.
 Shoue, *vb. int.* s. on, shove on, push on, 42/36.
 Shour, *sb.* attack, 6/207, 41/21.
 Signe, *sb.* 'outwarde s.', i. e. the Tavern Bush, 29/121.
 Site, *vb. int.* sit, 99/125.
 Sleyght, sleythe, *sb.* sleight, 88/394, 5.
 Slipir, *adj.* slipper, slippery, smooth, 122/354.
 Slow, *vb. t.* slew, 165/701.
 Slow, *sb.* slough (of heresy), 11/105.
 Smerte, *adj.* smart, painful, 3/90.
 Snake, *sb.* snack, 77/109.
 Soleyn, *adj.* solitary, morose, sullen, 136/742.
 Soonde, *sb.* dispensation, 128/522.
 Sorrer, *adv.* sorer, more sorely, 16/263.
 Souffyse, *vb. int.* suffice, 14/180, 37/400.
 Soul, *adj.* sole, 177.
 Soure, *adv.* sorely, 165/728.
 Spectacle, *sb.* pair of spectacles, or eye-glass, 21/417, 51/57.
 Speek, *vb. int.* spake, 1/43.
 Stail, *vb. int.* stole, 162/335.
 Staf, *sb.* staff, comp. staff of life, 172/915.
 Steerelees, *adj.* steerless, rudderless, 7/223.
 Steerne, *adj.* stern, 54/82.
 Stepchylde, *sb.* stepchild, treated as one, 58/23.
 Sterue, *vb.* starve, die; *Ger. sterben*, 2/83, 6/202.
 Stinte, *vb. int.* stay, cease, 107/336.
 Stirtemeel, *adv.* by starts, 203/660.
 Suppo[r]aille, *sb.* support, 59/18.
 Suspectly, *adv.* in a suspicious way, 105/292.
 Suspense, *sb.* doubt, delay, 183/138.
 Susteene, *vb. t.* sustain, endure, 25/5.
 Swal, *vb. int.* swelled, 96/29.
 Sy, *vb. t.* saw, 67/3, 186/214, 187/244.
 Syk, *sb.* sigh, 152/364.
 Taar, *vb. t.* tare, 7/239.
 Taast, *sb.* taste, 5/158, 7/213.
 Taastid, *pp.* tested, tried, examined, *O.Fr. taster*, 127/485.
 Taght, *pp.* taught, 13/154.
 Talent, *sb.* desire, *O.Fr. talant*, 147/202, 231/420.
 Tern, *vb. t.* take in, cheat, 236/573.
Fr. ternier is 'To throw a tre[trey], or three.' 1611. *Cotgrave*.
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 Theefly, *adj.* thievish, 182/115.
 Theefly, *adv.* thievish, in a thievish way, 152/335.
 Thewe, *vb. t.* furnish with thews, 181/83.
 Thirle, *vb.* thirl, thrill, pierce, 1/52, 204/685.
 Tho = those, 32/225.
 Thorgh, *prep.* through, 75/78, 82.
 Thraste, *vb.* thrust, 171/879.
 Threew, *vb. t.* threw, 152/364.

- Throwe, *sb.* throw, time, 2/73, 133/649.
 To and to, *adv.* backwards and forwards, about, 96/30.
 Torne, *sb.* turn (good or bad), 236/575.
 Treecherie, *sb.* trickery; *Fr.* *tricherie*, 53/48.
 Treewe, *adj.* true, 34/277.
 Triacle, *sb.* treacle, theriac, 70/110, 113/93.
 Trice, *vb.* *t.* thrust, 117/208; *tryce*, 34/287, 119/265.
 Triwe, *adj.* true, 79/163.
 Turn, *sb.* tourney, 24/505.
 Twyn, *sb.* twine, 45/71.
 Twyne, *twynne*, *vb.* *int.* separate, depart, 35/318, 185/183.
 Twynned, *pp.* twinned, separated, 8/8.

 Vengeable, *adj.* revengeful, 153/386.
 Viserly, *adj.* ? vizor- or vizard-like, projecting, horrible, 203/678.
 Vndirnome, *pp.* rebuked, 126/455.
 Vndisposed, *vndisposid*, *adj.* unprepared for, 184/181, 196/474, 200/590.
 Vnhad, *pp.* not had, unobtained, 143/111.
 Vnmeeble, *adj.* unmovable (of real property), 219/99.
 Vnnethes, *adv.* scarcely, 163/666.
 Vnreke, *unf.* unfold, 117/197.
 Vnsad, *adj.* unsettled, 104/255.
 Vnstoken, *pp.* unstocked, unbarred, 151/333.
 Vnwasshen, *pp.* unwashed, of gold, 116/182.

 Waar, *vb.* *int.* beware, 11/88.
 Waast, *sb.* waste, 36/371.
 Wafre, *sb.* wafer, hiscuit, 29/146.
 Waishe, *vb.* *t.* wash (gold), 114/106.
 Walwid, *pp.* wallowed, 18/318.
 Warie, *vb.* *t.* execrate, curse, 27/63.
 Wariasse, *vb.* *t.* heal, *O.Fr.* *warir*, 69/77.
 Wusslinge, *sb.* washing (of gold), 114/116.
 Waue, *vb.* ? stir, 37/399.
 Wawes, *sb.* waves, 7/223, 172/920.

 Weende, *vb.* *int.* wend, go, 160/561, 183/136.
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 Wemmelees, *adj.* stainless, 55/93.
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 Werne, *vb.* refuse, deny, 39/442, 45/59, 55/94.
 Werrey, *vb.* *int.* war, 191/363.
 Wildhede, *vb.* wildhood, wild ways, 112/52.
 Wit, *sb.* wisdom, 99/115.
 Withsitte, *sb.* withstand, 209/828.
 Wolde, *pp.* wished, 84/305.
 Wone, *sb.* custom, 34/294.
 Wont, *pp.* wanted, 70/107.
 Woodly, *adj.* mad, furious, 204/700.
 Worm, *sb.* 'The worm for to sleen in the pesecod;' i. e. the maggot (? Popery). 23/466.
 Worthe, *vb.* *int.* mount, 175.
 Wounde, *sb.* wound, 69/62.
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 Wrechch, *sb.* wretch, 76/99, 85/310.
 Wroothly, *adv.* wrothly, in ire, 151/329.
 Wydewhere, *adv.* wide around, 156/465.
 Wyght, *adj.* quick, nimble, 78/143.
 Wyt, *sb.* blame, 134/667.

 Ye, *sb.* eye, 21/427, 213; *yën* (2 syll.), 188/263, 203/665.
 Yeeme, *yeme*, *sb.* attention, care, 109/396, 197/521.
 Yepresse, *vb.* *t.* express, 131/586.
 Yerne, *adv.* eagerly, readily, 159/560.
 Ympe, *vb.* *t.* graft, 176/26.
 Ynow, enough, 23/471.
 Yore, *adv.* long ago, 110/4.
 Y-plight, *pp.* plucked, 173/928.
 Y-preened, *pp.* proved, experienced, 170/850.
 Y-walwe, *pp.* wallowed, rolled, 197/509.
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HOCCLEVE'S RHYMES AND CHAUCER'S VIRELAYS.

[Reprinted from *The Athenæum*, March 4, 1893, p. 281.]

CHAUCER tells us that he wrote "virelayes"; see 'Legend of Good Women,' 423. Unfortunately, they are all lost but two; and these two do not seem to have been noticed.

There is a so-called 'Virelay' in Moxon's edition, p. 439; but it was first attributed to Chaucer by Stowe in 1561, and is of quite late date; see my edition of the 'Minor Poems,' p. xxxi. I shall only observe here that it is not a true virelay; for the rhymes do not recur as they should.

The sole existing specimens both occur in 'Anelida,' lines 256-271 and 317-332. The arrangement of rhymes is as follows: *aaabaaab*, followed by *bbbabbba*. The repetition of the same rhymes in a different order is the essential point in a virelay.

In Dr. Furnivall's excellent new edition of Hoccleve I find some more examples, though they are not noted as being such. I wish to draw attention to them, as they are of high interest.

Take, for example, Balade IV., at p. 39. The editor says, "in five-measure eights, *abab, bcbc*." This is true as far as it goes, but does not convey any adequate idea of the extreme intricacy of the metre. The description given only applies to the first stanza. But *all the other stanzas* actually employ the very same rhymes, but in a veering order. In the whole poem of forty lines there are but three rhymes, viz. in *-al*, in *-ee*, and in *-ay*. And this is the order of them.

First stanza: *abab, bcbc*.

Second stanza: *cbcb, baba*.

Third stanza: *abab, bcbc*. (Same as the first.)

Fourth stanza: *cbcb, baba*. (Same as the second.)

Fifth stanza: *acac, cbcb*.

There are here three variations in the order.

Balade V. (p. 41) is another specimen of intricate rhyming.

The formula is as follows for the four stanzas: (1) *abab, bcbc*, (2) the same, (3) the same, (4) the same. In the thirty-two lines there are but three rhymes.

Balade VI. (p. 42) is precisely like it. However, neither of these is a virelay; there is no veer.

Balade VIII. (p. 47) furnishes us with a still more intricate specimen. The first five stanzas arrange the rhymes as in Balade IV. above. But there is a new arrangement in stanza 6, viz. *bcbc, caca*. Hence there are here four variations instead of three. In forty-eight lines there are but three rhymes, viz. in *-es*, *-oun*, and *-eye*. A knowledge of this is important phonetically; for a rhyme in *-ey* (instead of the feminine *-eye*) would be inadmissible.

Balade IX. is interesting as reproducing the metre in 'Anelida,' 220-255, 281-316; so we know whence the form of it came.

Balade XII. is an excellent specimen of a virelay. In the three stanzas we get the three varieties, as in Balade IV., stanzas 1, 2, and 5. The three rhymes are *-ent*, *-esse*, *-ee*.

Balade XIII. begins with an excellent virelay. The first three stanzas are, in form, precisely like Balade XII.; but all the rhymes are feminine. The rhyme-endings are *-esse*, *-inge*, *-aille*. Stanza 4 is, metrically, rather a drop, as it introduces new rhymes. But the roundel that succeeds is good.

Balade XIV. is a virelay. The first and third stanzas end alike, viz. in *abab, bcbc*. The second stanza has *cbcb, baba*.

Balade XV. is a virelay, precisely like Balade XII.

Hence Hoccleve actually presents us with true virelays in Balades XII., XV., and three stanzas of XIII., with three variations. Balade IV. is another, but the third and fourth stanzas are additional, and merely repeat the rhymes of the first and second. Balade VIII. introduces yet a fourth variation. Balade XIV. has but two variations.

We can all guess whence Hoccleve learnt his metres. It seems to me a most interesting fact that, though we have not got many of Chaucer's eight-line virelays, we now know precisely how they all went.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

"MAGGE, THE GOOD[E] KOW."—p. 217.

[Reprinted from *The Academy*, April 1, 1893, pp. 285-6.]

"THE COW IS WOOD" IN CHAUCER.

Cambridge: March 19, 1893.

In the New English Dictionary, s.v. *chough*, we learn that *cow* here means "chough"; viz., in the "Wife of Bath's Prologue," l. 232. I once further explained (in the *ACADEMY*, April 5, 1890) that the allusion is to a story of "The Tell-tale Bird" kind, so well discussed by Mr. Clouston in *Originals and Analogues*, p. 437 (Chaucer Society).

In Dr. Furnivall's new edition of *Hoccleve* there is a capital example of a similar usage; and (with Dr. Furnivall's kind permission) I beg leave to call attention to it, because it seems to have escaped notice. I must quote the whole of two stanzas on p. 217:

"Frend, looth me were 'nay' seye vnto yow,
But y suppose, it may noon othir be;
Lest wommen vnto Magge, the good[e] kow,
Me likne, and thus seye—'O, beholde and seo
The double man! O, yondir, lo, gooth he
That hony first yaf, and now yeueth galle;
He fo in herte is vnto wommen alle;

"Til he of wommen oute wordes wikke,
He fastynge is, him seemeth; al the day
Out of his mowth lesynges swarmen thikke;
On wommen no good word affoorthe he may;
And if he wel speke or wryte, is no nay,
He nat meneth as he spekith or writ:
O lewde dotepol! straw for his wit!"

In the last line but one the printed text has *meueth*, i.e., "moveth." I read it as *meneth*, i.e., "meaneth." The verb *oute* means "utter." I would further suggest that the MS. reading,

the good cow, is a scribal error for *the woode cow*, i.e., "the mad jack-daw." The scribe evidently missed the point, and avoided writing what (to him) seemed to be nonsense.

I now give a sufficient paraphrase :

"My friend, it would grieve me to refuse you, but I suppose I cannot do otherwise (than translate, as you ask me to do, a tale about an evil woman). I fear lest women should liken me to Mag, the mad jack-daw, and say—'Behold the double-minded man! See yonder, there goes he who formerly gave men honey, and now gives them gall; he is a foe, at heart, to all womankind. He seems to himself to be fasting, till he utters wicked words about women. Lies swarm thickly out of his mouth. He cannot afford women one good word; and if ever he speaks or writes well of us, it cannot be denied that he does not mean what he speaks or writes. Ignorant blockhead! A straw for his wit!'"

Not only have we here a new allusion to the evil words which jack-daws speak of women, but we have what I suppose to be by far the earliest example of the name *Mag* (Margaret) as applied to a chattering bird. Shakspeare has "magot-pie," and modern English has "magpie." It would be interesting to learn if some other MS. can be found in which the original word *woode* (or *wode*) is retained.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

I don't know of another copy of this Link between Hoccleve's two stories from the *Gesta Romanorum*.—F. J. F.

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The Exeter-Book (Anglo-Saxon Poems), re-edited from the unique MS. by I. Gollancz, B.A. Part I. [*At Press*]
Vices and Virtues, from the unique MS., ab. 1200 a.d., ed. Dr. P. Holthausen, Part II. [*At Press*]
Lydgate's and Burgh's Secrees of Philosophres, ab. 1445-50, ed. R. Steele, B.A. [*At Press*]
Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., Part II., ed. Dr. J. Kail. [*At Press*]
Sir David Lyndesay's Works. Part VI. and last, ed. W. H. S. Otley. [*At Press*]
The Lay Folks' Catechism, by Archbp. Thoresby, ed. Canon Simmons and F. D. Matthews. [*Text provided*]
Richard Minyn's Fire of Love, 1534, and *Mending of Life*, 1535 (from Hampole), ed. R. Harvey, M.A. [*Text provided*]

EXTRA SERIES.

The Publications for 1892 (one Guinea) are:—

- LXI. Hoccleve's *Minor Poems*, I., from the Phillips and Durham MSS., ed. F. J. Furnivall, Ph.D. 1s.
LXII. *The Chester Plays*, re-edited from the MSS. by the late Dr. Hermann Deimling. Part I. 3s.

The Publications for 1893 (1st ready; 2nd to be issued in 1892) will be:—

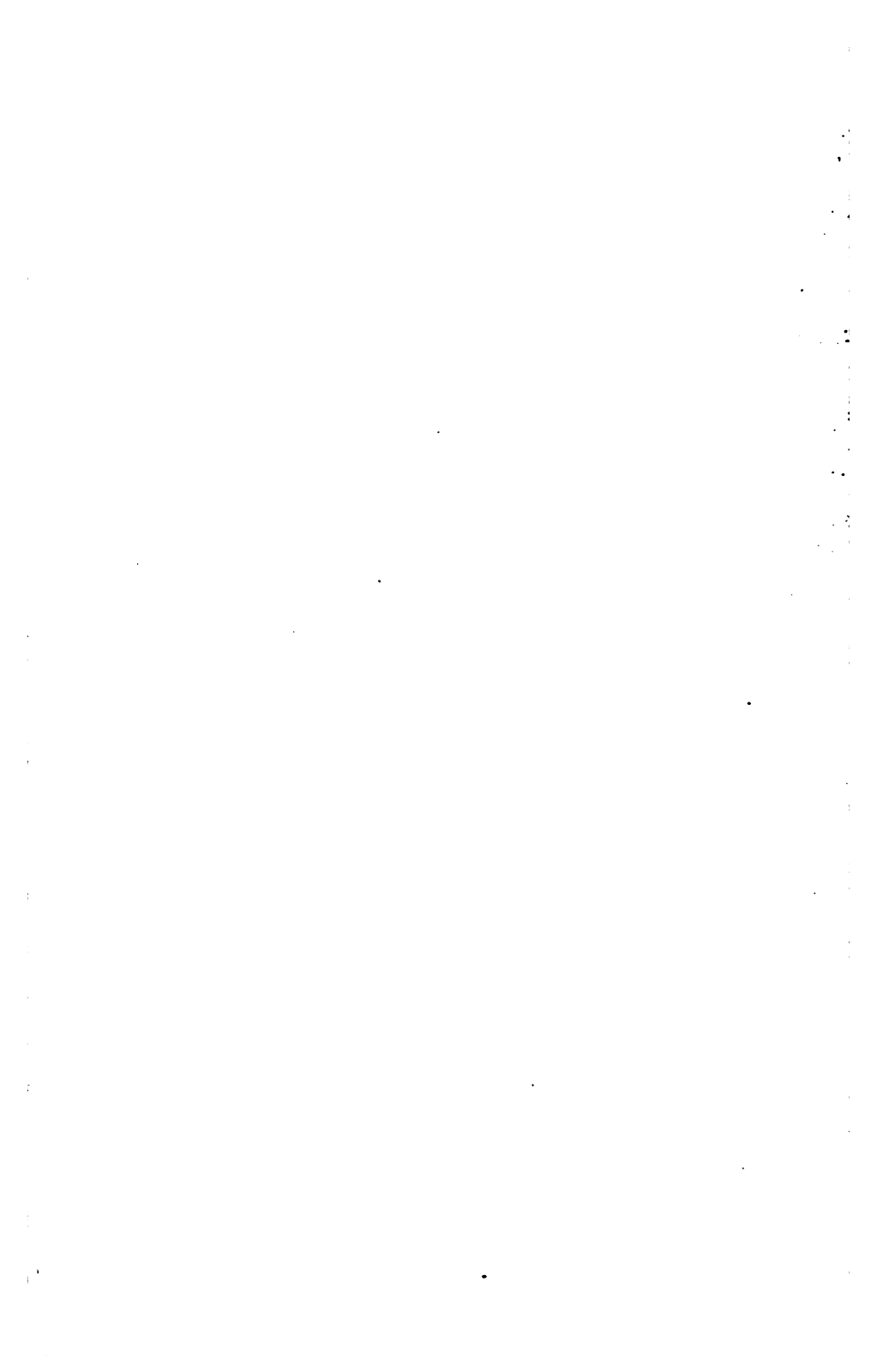
- LXIII. *Thomas a Kempis's De Imitatione Christi*, english ab. 1440, and 1602, ed. Prof. J. K. Ingram, LL.D.
LXIV. *Caxton's Godfrey of Bologne, or Last Siege of Jerusalem*, 1481, ed. by Dr. Mary N. Colvin. 20s. [*Text provided*]

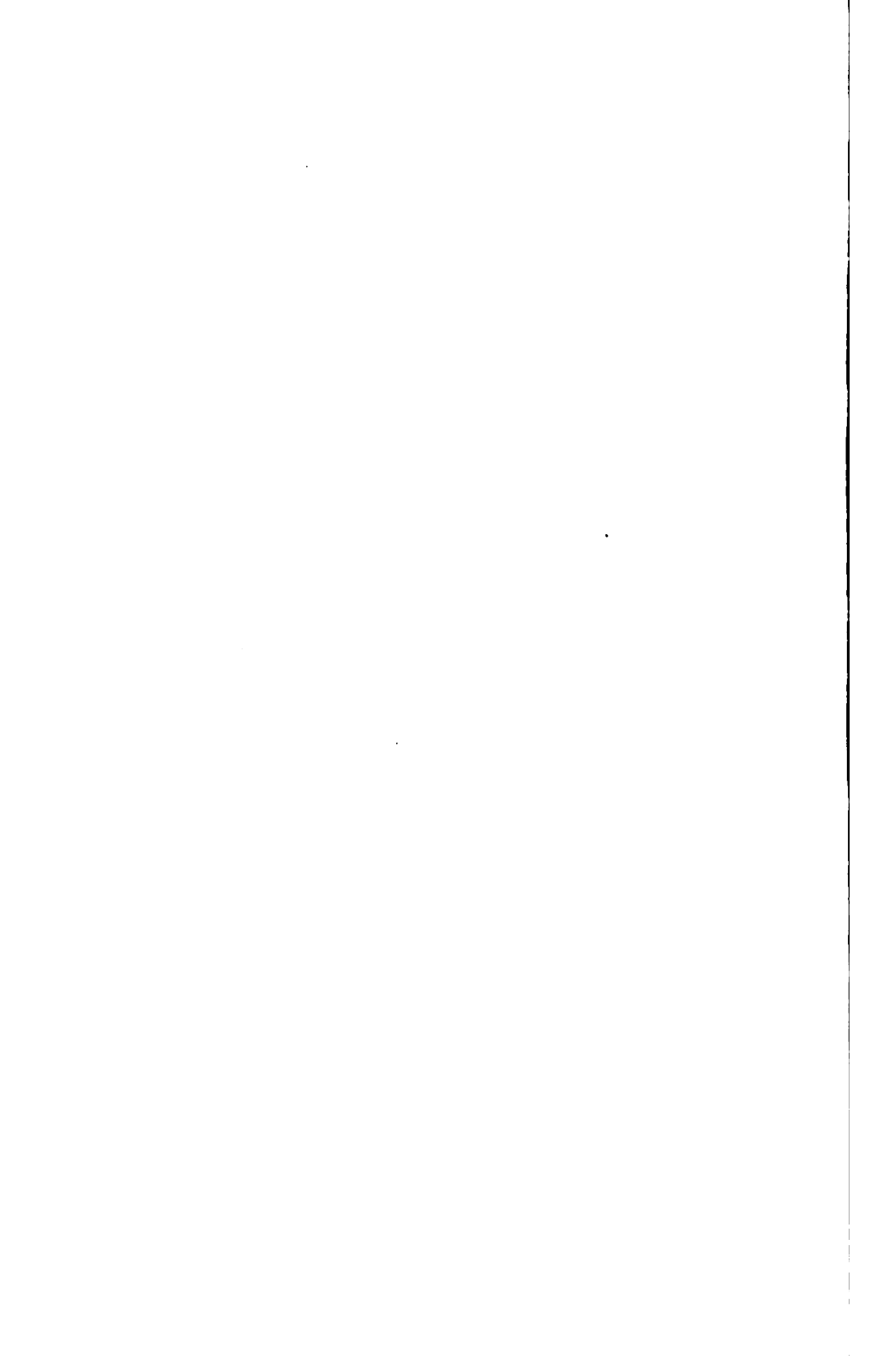
The Publications for 1894 and 1895 (some to be ready in 1892) will be chosen from:—

- Lichfield Gilds*, ed. Dr. F. J. Furnivall; Introduction by Prof. E. C. K. Gonner. [*Text done*]
Melusine, the prose Romance, from the unique MS., ab. 1300, ed. A. K. Donald, B.A. [*At Press*]
The Owl and Nightingale, 2 Texts parallel, ed. G. F. H. Sykes. [*At Press*]
Deguilleville's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, 2 prose Versions, 2 English, 1 French, ed. G. S. Currie, M.A.
Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes, 1411-12, ed. Dr. F. J. Furnivall. [*At Press*]
Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne (1363), and its French original, ed. Dr. F. J. Furnivall.
The Towneley Plays, re-edited from the unique MS. by George England, Esq. [*At Press*]
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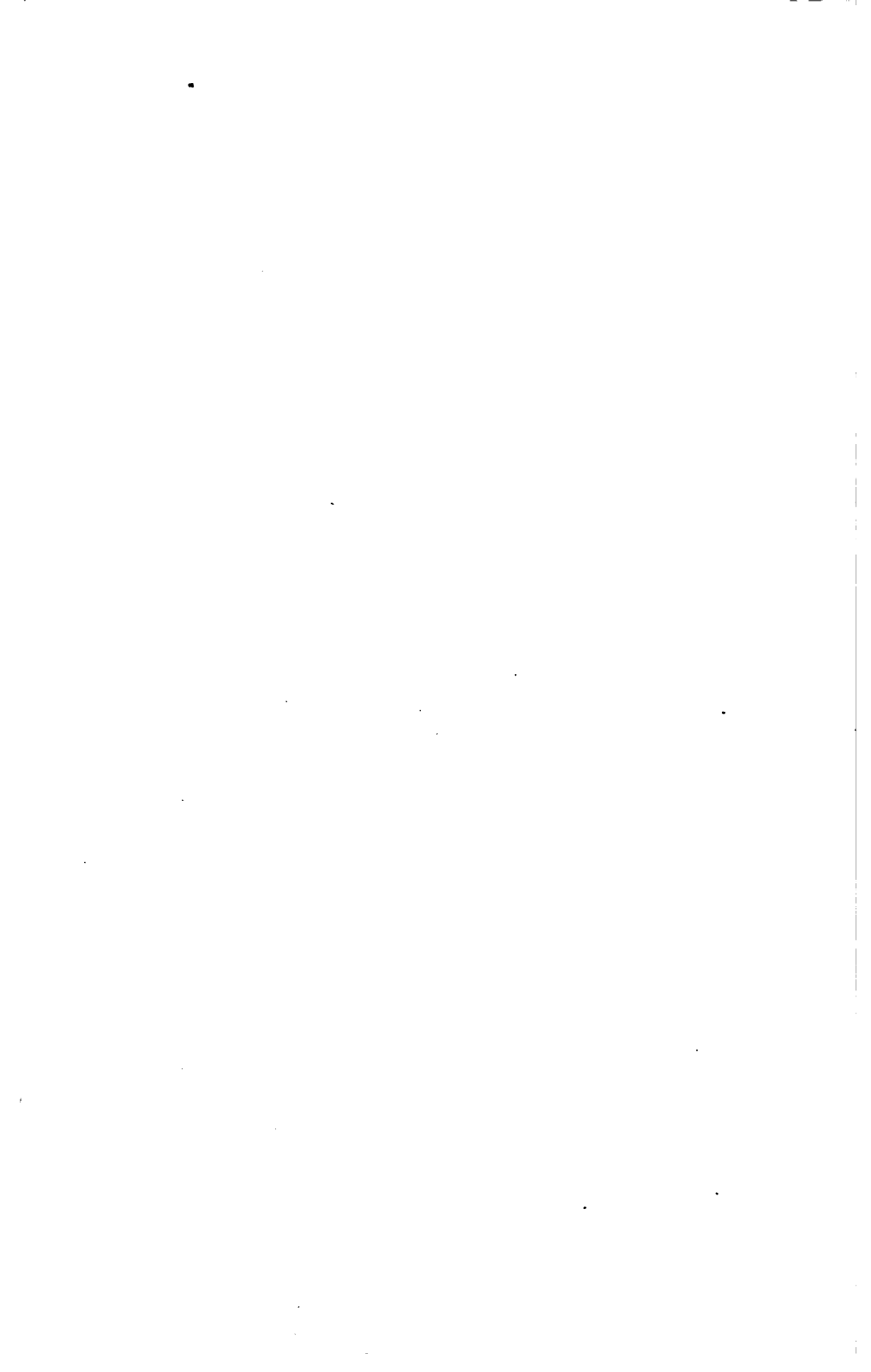
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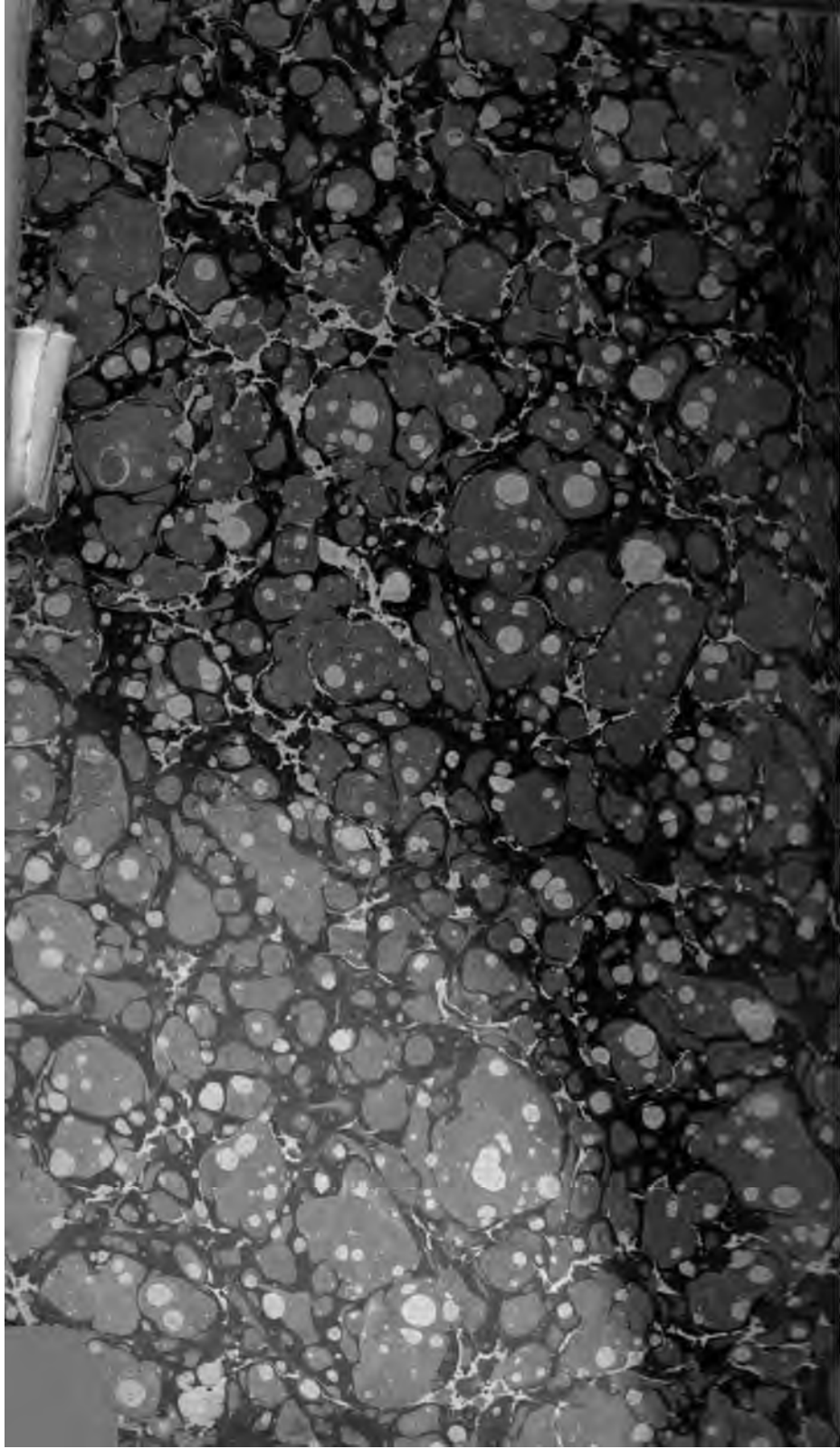
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